

Akwesasne

NOTES

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WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

CULTURAL GENOCIDE IN CANADA

PROPOSED INDIAN POLICY IS BEING IMPLEMENTED

says JEAN CHRETIEN, Canadian Minister of Indian Affairs says —

"...(It) is all up to the Indian people. It is for them to say and they need no prompting from the gallery to help them identify their needs. -- Sept. 20, 1968

"I expect that my Consultation and Negotiation officers will also try to persuade the Indian people...that the direction of the policy proposals is indeed in the best interests of all concerned." -- March 31, 1970



Indians demonstrating outside the State Capitol in Albany yesterday to press their demand for the return of wampum

United Press Telephoto

Watertown Daily Times, Wednesday, April 22, 1970

Indians Fail in Attempts To Obtain Wampum Belts

By BRUCE B. DETLEFSEN
ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) —
Irate Indians promised today, a battle in the courts after "a bitter experience" trying to get the legislature to return 26 wampum belts that are in the State Museum.

Representatives of the Iroquois Confederacy kept a vigil at the Capitol in the final days of the 1970 legislative session, hoping for approval of a bill that would have required the state to terminate a 72-year-old agreement.

That agreement, the validity of which the Indians challenge, made officials of the Education Department the keeper of the wampum.

The wampum belts, made of shell beads, represent to the Indians religious and political records of the pre-literate Iroquois. They want to display them at a planned

cultural center on Onondaga land near Syracuse.

The dispute over the belts has been going on since the end of the last century. This year, Republican Assemblyman Joseph R. Pisani of New Rochelle introduced a bill to transfer them to the Indians. Pisani's bill was passed in the Assembly without dissent. It then was sent to the Senate Finance Committee, which did not report the measure to the floor.

A committee spokesman said the main concern was that the Indians do not have at this time an appropriate facility for keeping or displaying the belts, could not specify when there would be one and could not guarantee that they could properly care for the belts, which have an appraised value of \$250,000.

Irving Powless, an Onondaga

chief who was here when the legislature adjourned Monday, blamed "state government forces" for the bill's death.

"It has been long ordeal and a bitter experience for my people who once more were debuffed by the state in their long quest for justice," Powless maintained.

As a result, he added, the Indians have asked the attorney for the Six Nation Iroquois Confederacy to take legal action against the State Education Department.

"We have to start the long fight in court," Powless said, "where we hope to have a fair and public hearing, instead of our fate being decided in secret behind closed doors in a Senate committee."

In recent weeks, the Indians have appealed to Gov.

Rockefeller's office and the State Council on the Arts, in addition to legislators.

Education Department officials maintain that it would be a dangerous precedent to return the wampum belts to the Indians, since other persons then might come forward and lay claim to objects the department considers part of the cultural heritage of all New Yorkers.

Meanwhile, the state has created a new post of Indian curator whose stated function is to identify and preserve Indian culture. It is understood that an Indian may be asked to assume the job.

But Powless rejects this possibility. "No Indian will cooperate or work for a State Museum that is self-appointed wampum keeper and wishes to reduce us to its warls," he maintains.

During the course of the last few months it has been the policy of the Indian Affairs Branch to assure our people, time and again, that the announced Indian Policy was only a proposal, and that there would be implementation only when the Indian people concurred with the aims of the government. From the time of its release to the public the Native Organizations have, as one voice, registered their policy, and have prepared briefs to the government with the negative reaction loud and clear.

In fact, the proposed new Indian Policy is not a proposal, but its many parts are being implemented and denied as such by officials.

Just prior to the announcement of the proposed new Indian Policy, the Minister of Indian Affairs had announced that his Department would be reorganizing itself, but was in fact preparing to implement the Policy and phase out as proposed in the Policy. Civil servants in the Department were re-assigned for its implementation. For example, within days after the announced Indian Policy, Mr. Chretien's Assistant Minister, Robert Battle, was given the title "Assistant Deputy Minister for the Implementation of the Government's New Indian Policy."

Secondly, and even more important, is the announcement by the Prime Minister of Canada of the appointment of Prof. Lloyd Barber, as the Commissioner on Indian Treaties. This is also an implementation step, and a violation of a National Indian Brotherhood request to hold off any appointment until the Indian people prepared a counter-proposal.

Another example of the Policy being implemented is the transfer of Indian Health Services to the Ontario Health Services Insurance Plan, which is in fact shuffling federal responsibilities to the Province of Ontario, without prior consultation with the Indians.

Steps are being taken and carried out to turn over title and ownership of lands on reservations to individual Indians holding location tickets. They have been asked by Indian Affairs Agents to turn in their tickets.

The shocking truth is that many parts of the so-called

proposal may be implemented using existing legislation and other means without new legislation. The vote on the proposed new Indian Policy will be merely a formality in the House of Commons and endorsement of those parts which may require further legislation.

The Prime Minister, the House of Commons, the Supreme Court of Canada, the civil servants of federal and provincial governments, Canada's lawyers and businessmen, all support Equality for the native peoples in this country.

With Equality, there is no special status for the native peoples.

With Equality, there are legally no Eskimos or Indians.

With Equality, the Minister of Indian Affairs, the Supreme Court of Canada, etc. can legally say the native peoples are Canadians, not Eskimos and Indians.

MORE ON PAGES
8, 9, 10, 11

With Equality, there can be no special federal responsibilities for the Eskimo and Indian peoples.

With Equality, there are no treaties with the Indian peoples to be honoured and respected by the Government of Canada and their Canadian people.

With Equality, there are no aboriginal rights.

With Equality, there can be no Indian Lands, tax-free.

With Equality, there are legally no Indian Reservations, no unsundered territories, only (ethnic) communities.

With Equality, there are no Indian Lands, they are Crown Lands, and the native peoples are squatters (on their own land).

With Equality, all these communities will be taxable by the respective governments.

With Equality, all these taxed communities will be mortgaged, sold, and eventually all lost by the native peoples.

With Equality, all that is lost by the native peoples, will be owned and controlled by the white man.

With Equality, all that will be owned and controlled by the white man, he will then be benevolent to us until all traces of our race have vanished.

With Racial Equality, there will be total genocide of the aboriginal peoples. All this being done, without physical force or bullets

Indians Await Ellis Island I-Hour As Officials Eye Invasion Threat

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By DANIEL HAYS
Evening News Staff Writer

NEW YORK — A determined band of young Indians vowed last night they would run a Coast Guard blockade of Ellis Island to reclaim it as their own despite the threat of high fines and jail.

The erstwhile raiding party stated their plans in the wake of a Monday morning attempt to take the island which failed when a balky outboard gave out.

As federal officials scratched their heads wondering what they would do if the Indians succeeded, Tom Cook, a Mohawk spokesman for the group, said Coast Guard patrol boats posed no threat. "These can be run," he said. "We just have to skirmish around them."

Cook said the Indians, members of the South Eastern Indian Council, are "just waiting for favorable conditions to say 'go'" before trying to cross the 900 feet of water between Jersey City and the 27-acre former immigration center.

A Coast Guard spokesman, who first maintained that nothing special was being done about the Indians because "Ellis Island is really a Park Service function," announced in the late afternoon that a "zone of security" would be maintained around Ellis.

He said under the Espionage Act of 1917 violators would be subject to up to 10 years in jail, \$10,000 fines and the seizure of any vessel attempting to run the blockade.

Charles Arnold, administrator of the New York National Park Service Group, said that if the Indians managed to land successfully, "I don't know if we would evict them. We would await orders from Washington. We'd play it close to the vest." His group is part of the Department of the Interior.

Indians' Aims

Cook said that the Indians want the island for a variety of purposes. He mentioned a cultural center, an ecology study center, a training school for Indians, a national American Indian Museum and an Indian spiritual center.

Meanwhile, in Washington, a spokesman for the Bureau of Indian Affairs said the whole thing was "not at all our responsibility." And a spokesman for the Department of the Interior said, "We'll wait and see what develops."

The island, which has largely gone to weed since 1958 when



John Cutrose, Tom Cook and John Whitefox (l. to r.) discuss attempt to occupy Ellis Island, in press conference at 11 Bank St.

he federal government stopped all maintenance, has 36 buildings, but no running water, electricity or sewage."

Arnold Richardson, president of the Indian council, said bitterly that conditions on Ellis are "typical of every reservation in America."

Indians' Plans

Interviewed at the group's center in Brooklyn, Richardson said that if and when the Indians land on the island they will stay indefinitely. Their initial group includes a family with two small children, he said. "Among the 20 or more Indians who staged Monday's unsuccessful bid to take the island, was John Whitefox, a Shoshone from San Francisco who was part of the group which has occupied Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay since November."

Richardson and others emphasized that they were "reclaiming" Ellis for "all tribes." They asked: "How can it be an invasion. How can we invade our own land?"

The group said they are independent of the Alcatraz group although their aims are the same. Cook, who is a student at Richmond College on Staten Island, said the Indians' justification for taking the island is a moral one.

Not Dead Question

"Millions of acres have been stolen from our grandfathers," he said. "It's not a dead historical question." He mentioned that on reservations the suicide rate is 10 times the national average and the average education is not above the sixth grade level.

Plans for the "reclaiming" were first outlined two months ago by Brian Myles of West Haven, Conn., a student at New Haven College. He said if he does occupy the island he has made arrangements with his professors.

Myles, a Mohican Pequot said that if he is arrested and fined "I'm going to give them \$10,000 worth of wampum — I'll give them what they gave us."

Ernest Mitchell, a Muskogee Seminole from Florida, said Ellis Island was "symbolic, it was once the gateway to our land to immigrants who were given preference and priority to the people living here."

All of the group emphasized that their movement "isn't anything similar to the Students for a Democratic Society or the Young Lords taking a church." Ellis Island, they noted, "isn't used by anybody."

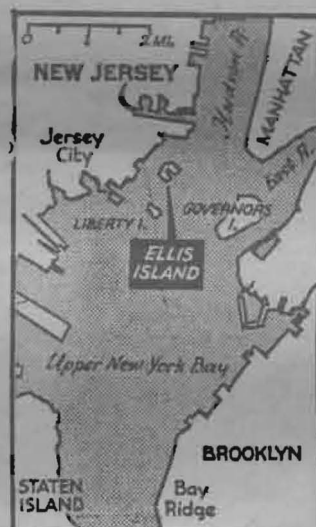
Today a pair of 40-foot patrol boats, each with a crew of four,

The Evening News

March 17, 1970
Newark, N.J.

were busy cruising up and down between the Jersey shore and Ellis.

Asked how unarmed boats could stop a determined group of Indians short of ramming them, a Coast Guard spokesman replied, "We don't anticipate such action."



The New York Times March 17, 1970

Indians Seek Space

Some 15,000 Indians in the metropolitan area are looking for a place to hold ceremonies, exhibit their arts and crafts and keep files of their historic background, those in need of jobs and other data.

They also want to teach young people the background, customs and culture of Indian people.

William M. Schmucker, past president of the Bayside Hills Civic Association, suggested that the Indians be allotted space at Fort Totten, which the community wants preserved for recreation and cultural purposes. The Army had a recreation hall there for years.

"There is no better place to honor the Indians and their important place in history," Schmucker said.

LONG ISLANDER

Outboard Balks Indians

By JOSEPH LELYVELD

A leaky gas line on an 18-foot launch foiled an attempt by a group of militant Indians to land on Ellis Island before dawn yesterday morning and turn the abandoned reception center for immigrants into a symbol of the wrongs suffered by the country's first inhabitants.

The outboard motor on the launch—called the Go-Go—coughed a few times and then died after the boat was pushed off from the Jersey shore under cover of darkness at about 5:30 A.M. with eight men and a load of equipment. The island is only 400 yards from the Jersey City docks, where 30 more Indian men, women and children were standing by to make the crossing.

"There is no place for Indians to assemble and carry on tribal life here in this white man's city," declared a proclamation read by Mr. White Fox.

It promised that young Indians would be trained there to better the lot of their people and, also, to reverse the pollution of the water, air and land to which the continent has been exposed since the end of the era in which the Indians had it all to themselves.

However, the National Park Service has plans for Ellis Island that could be diametrically opposed to those of the Indians—turning it into a monument to the 16 million immigrants who entered the country there.

Ellis Island Guarded--

Indians About

New York

The Coast Guard yesterday invoked the Espionage Act to ward off an Indian attack on Ellis Island, the deserted former immigration office and gateway to America for countless immigrants.

The action came after a group of Indians, led by Frank Growling Bear, announced to the press they were going to seize Ellis Island, in the middle of New York harbor.

Meanwhile, the Coast Guard set up a 24-hour security patrol around the uninhabited island. It also invoked the 1917 Espionage Act which made it illegal to enter the area and permitted the Coast Guard to seize any vessel that tried and to put the perpetrators in jail for up to 10 years.

DAILY NEWS, TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 1970 HEAP BIG HUNK OF HOOEY

Some Indians recently grabbed government-abandoned Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, and some other Indians plus Jane Fonda hope to grab not-abandoned Forts Lawton and Lewis near Seattle, and now the grab fever has hit a few Indians in this neighborhood.

Between 10 and 20 of these folks planned to seize Ellis Island Monday before the dawn's early light. But their invasion craft—a 16-foot motorboat, not a muscle-powered war canoe—developed engine trouble off New Jersey, and the onslaught foiled.

The Coast Guard got wind of the plot, and now intends to patrol Ellis Island around the clock till further notice.

That's fine, we think, and we hope nothing will change the Coast Guard plan. If these Indians want to utilize Ellis Island as a center of Indian cultural activities, let them sue in the appropriate court(s) for legal title to the place. Or, if they don't trust the courts, let them petition Congress—where they can count on finding more than a few sympathizers.

Those are the proper ways to go about these things. Violence is strictly out of order in such cases, and should be suppressed with all necessary force.



"A lady just said if we don't like it here why don't we go back where we came from."

Alcatraz for Indians

Is there any good reason why the federal government should not turn over Alcatraz Island to the Indians?

No one except the Indians has indicated any real interest in the rock since it was abandoned 6 1/2 years ago as a prison site. Last November a group of Indians, led by a Mohawk from New York State and Chippewa from Minnesota, landed on the 13-acre island.

Indian leaders, explaining their occupational right, cited federal treaties giving some tribes the right to take over deserted federal areas within a tribe's original territory.

The Indians' occupation has symbolic value in demonstrating pride in being Indian and in protesting shabby treatment in reservations and in cities. Leaders have a more immediate and tangible purpose. They would like to establish centers on the island for studies in North American culture, medicine, religion, ecology and job training. A museum would be founded. The Indians are cleaning up and repairing the prison premises.

Granting the Indians the island seems little enough to ask. Last year the Health, Education and Welfare Department gave \$10 million to non-Indians to study Indians; not a dollar went to an Indian scholar or researcher to present the Indian point of view.

Despite the fact there are 315 Indian tribal groups scattered among 26 states living as quasi-sovereign nations, they are remarkably united as a people. Why shouldn't the Indians be allowed to develop Alcatraz as an experimental center, giving them an opportunity, under their own auspices, to see what they can do in microcosmic setting, in answering modern social problems?

What does the federal government have to lose?

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EDITOR: JERRY GAMBILL



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For Indian studies. A useful addition to materials used by teachers of Indian students or social studies teachers would be Akwesasne Notes — a newspaper dealing exclusively with current Indian affairs and problems, packed full of discussion points for any classroom. Jerry Gambill, Box 436, Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, via Roosevelttown, New York 13683. U.S.A. Bulk rates are \$10 for 25, \$34 per hundred; single copies on a donation basis.

CLIP THIS OUT AND GIVE IT TO A TEACHER

here's
where
it's
at

TELL IT LIKE IT IS

NOTES TO READERS: This paper is kept going by its readers — and we almost didn't make it out this month. It costs us almost \$1500 a month for postage and printing, and money seemed to come in slow.

That means this month the paper is on poorer stock and won't survive being passed through numerous hands. That means some of us had to put in several hundred dollars so you could read this.

But if each reader sent us \$1, we could print for 5 months. If each person selling the paper sent in his money, we wouldn't have to worry about donations.

--- so, hope to see you next month?

We have quite a backlog of letters to the editor, poems, news items, etc., which have to be typed with a special ribbon. We promise to try to have some of these for the next issue. We haven't forgotten.

There is no subscription rate — just help out as best you can. You can help in many ways:

- your contributions from time to time (for your own paper, and for those who have no \$)
- encourage a library to take the paper
- send clippings and writings
- send names and addresses of those who should have the paper. Who is on your mailing lists?
- going to an Indian meeting, pow-wow, or convention? Pay your way and help us out by selling AKWESASNE NOTES by the hundreds.

letters a month. We answer on a priority basis, and we will reply as soon as we can. Please be patient. And if you just want to know about subscription rate — there isn't any. But your contribution is very much needed.

IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE DEPARTMENT

SHOULD CHRISTIANITY SEEK THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TRIBAL SYSTEM as a necessary part of evangelism? Some believe the Christian principle of unity requires this. The Apostle Paul spoke in no uncertain terms of one body, one Spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God and Father of all. Any loyalty competitive to the unity of the Spirit is idolatry. On the gates of the new Jerusalem will appear the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. But on the foundations of the walls will be the names of the twelve Apostles (Rev. 21:12-14), and the Apostles will judge the tribes (Luke 22:30). The grand movement of history is toward oneness in Christ.

BUT DOES ALL THIS MEAN THE TRIBAL LOYALTIES ARE IN THEMSELVES EVIL in a way that family or political party loyalties are not? Many missionaries believe that the tribe for our day provides a social structure which is conducive to evangelization and church growth in a way that afforded the rapid discipling of Ireland along tribal lines in early church history. Northern Transvaal in South Africa provides encouraging modern examples of tribe and group conversions to Christianity. This does not mean that Christians are to seek the preservation of tribal loyalties. Observers are generally agreed that these will disappear in the next two or three centuries under the pressure of industrialization and universal education and communication. But the question is one of using tribal structures while they still exist that Christianity may be spread.

THINK INDIAN



WORLD VISION MAGAZINE/NOVEMBER 1969

SEEKING AND SERVING THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION

APRIL 2, 1970

Indians Again Try to Occupy

Storm Fort For 3rd Time

By DON HANNULA

About 50 Indians rushed past military police at the main gate at Fort Lawton today in the third "occupation" of the fort.

They scattered throughout the base. M. P.s began making immediate arrests.

Apparently others entered the fort other ways because Army authorities reported at noon that 80 Indians were being held in custody in the fort detention center.

Army spokesman said two military policemen were injured slightly. There were no reports of injured Indians.

Col. Stuart Palos, post commander, said some Indians used chains to try to resist arrest and threw rocks and other objects at the M. P.s.

When the Indians rushed through the gate several newsmen followed them. Military police ordered the newsmen out. An Army bus was used to transport those on foot back to the main gate. Newsmen were not allowed to go to the stockade area, where Indians arrested were taken.

The Indians moved through the main gate shortly before 10 a. m. Army jeeps, trucks and cars, driven by military police, raced around the fort looking for Indians.

Bernie Whitebear, chairman of the United Indians of All Tribes council, said the occupation effort was to reaffirm Indian demands that surplus-designated Fort Lawton land be turned over to them for a multipurpose and education center.

The Indian move on the fort came as the U. I. A. T., which has been demonstrating around the clock since March 10, began breaking up its encampment outside the main gate.

Whitebear said the 24-day encampment had served its purpose in calling national and international attention to the requests of the Indians.

By noon, all of the tents, teepees and lean-tos of the Indians had been taken down.

Whitebear said the U. I. A. T. would now begin its second phase plan — that of amassing public support for its goals to attain the land, also sought by the city for a park.

Whitebear said the Indians who entered the fort today planned to "stay elusive and avoid physical contact but go peacefully if apprehended." He said:

"We have shown that we are peaceful and nonviolent and will continue to do that."

Palos was at the main gate. His first question of Whitebear was:

"What do you want us to do with the Indians inside when we get them?"

Whitebear suggested that they might be hungry and that the Army might feed them.

Whitebear repeated that "our fight is not against the Army, but what we are trying to do is show the sin-



Protest Chant

An Indian drummer chants in a lean-to in front of the main gate of Ft. Lawton near Seattle. The Indians are protesting the arrest of 78 Indians who scaled a cliff and

set up a teepee on the Army fort. The Indians want the fort to turn it into a culture center and university.

AP Wirephoto

Don't Sleep Through the Revolution

cerity of our intent to gain this land."

Four attorneys for the Indians were on hand. Initially, they were refused entry to the fort.

At 11 a. m. Army officials allowed two attorneys to go to the detention center where the Indians were held. Fourteen Indians were scheduled to appear in United States District Court today on a preliminary hearing on charges of trespassing arising from a March 15 occupation of the fort. Another occupation was attempted March 8.

The main gate at the fort was closed and locked after the Indians rushed through. At 11 a. m. it was reopened on a selective basis for passage of traffic.

FONDA:

A couple of months ago, I began feeling enormously frustrated because my direct knowledge of the United States is limited to the two coasts, so I decided to take a month or so to drive across the country, to find out if there really is a silent majority, and just to see what's going on. About the same time I read an article in Ramparts by Peter Collier about the plight of the American Indians, and I was appalled. I went to San Francisco to meet Collier and to visit Alcatraz, the abandoned federal prison which has been occupied by about 100 Indians of all tribes. It was on the island that I began to learn, firsthand, of the unbelievable problems the American Indians are facing.

I left Alcatraz stunned and decided that I would visit as many Indian reservations as I could during my cross-country trip to gather more information.

I called Janet McCloud, who participates in a traditional Indian movement in northwest Washington. I knew that the Indians in that area were facing some urgent problems, and I asked her to arrange a schedule for me on Saturday so I could find out more about what was happening. When I arrived in Washington, the first place I was taken was to the federal prison on McNeil Island, where I met with the Brotherhood of American Indians, an organization of the Indian inmates. Although Indians represent one half of one percent of the population of the U.S., they represent about five percent of the prison population. One inmate there told me that he had been sentenced to twenty-five years for forging a check for \$107.

One of the greatest problems faced by the Indian inmates is that they are regularly denied parole, when otherwise eligible, because they are unable to find work and a place to live once they are released. What is urgently needed is a halfway house, a house with a staff that could find jobs for those about to face the parole board, a place where they could receive vocational training and assistance in adapting themselves to

life on the outside. The prisoners asked to communicate these needs to people on the outside, in the hope that funds could be raised to establish such a place.

I toured the Indian reservations that afternoon and evening. I saw huge electrical power lines that ran through the Indian land by permission. I was told, of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, yet the small wooden houses in which the Indians live within the very shadow of these structures were without electricity. Everywhere we went we were told of sacred treaties that had been violated by the Federal Government or the state of Washington. Indians are, by treaty, guaranteed the right to hunt and fish in the places where they have always done so. Yet in Washington — where they depend for their livelihood on salmon fishing — they have been denied this right. The police are destroying their nets, dynamiting and confiscating their boats, and arresting the fishermen, who cannot get effective legal assistance and consequently end up in prison.

Much later that evening, while at an Indian wedding ceremony, I was informed that the next morning a United Indian force, representing all tribes of Indians and Alaskan natives, was planning to move on and occupy the lands presently not in use at Fort Lawton, Seattle. A delegation had met previously with Washington Senator Henry M. Jackson, asking his support in acquiring whatever property is soon to become surplus at the fort. They stated their plans to use this property for the city's 12,000 Indian and Alaskan natives as a multi-service cultural, vocational and educational setup.

The Indians decided to take matters into their own hands, and, using Alcatraz as a precedent, occupied the land. I asked permission to go along as an observer, mainly because I felt that my presence and that of Mark Lane — who planned to film the proceedings — might lessen the chances of brutality against the Indians.

LAIRD IS SUED BY JANE FONDA

SEATTLE, WASH. (AP) — Actress Jane Fonda sued Defense Secretary Melvin Laird Monday for alleged government violation of her constitutional rights and said her anti-war stand may cost her an Academy Award.

"There are some very powerful people in my profession who take an opposite political stand," she said. "I could lose the Oscar over this."

The suit, filed for Miss Fonda and Lane by the American Civil Liberties Union, asked the U.S. District Court to declare the Army's actions unconstitutional.



JANE FONDA

TELL IT LIKE IT IS

by Dunagin



"THERE MUST BE SOMETHING IN THE MANUAL ON DEFENDING AGAINST AN INDIAN ATTACK. BESIDES FORM A CIRCLE WITH THE WAGONS."

INDIANS ATTACK ARMY

5

LOS ANGELES FREE PRESS

Special to the Free Press from
N. (LITTLEFOOT) MAGOWAN
Editor, Cherokee Examiner

Tell It Like It Is by Dunagin

[Editor's Note: The Free Press sent Littlefoot to Fort Lawton, Washington two weeks ago when word was received that a third Indian attempt to seize the fort was imminent and likely to be led by armed young braves after two previous peaceful attempts had only resulted in the Army beating and gassing the Indians.

Fort Lawton is in the process of being declared "surplus land" by the U.S. Government.

U.S. Senator Jackson of Washington is presenting a bill in Congress sometime this month to turn Fort Lawton over to the city of Seattle, however. As the Indians express it, "Turning this stolen land over to the foreigners of Seattle ignores all existing laws relative to the Native claims. This then means that if we, The People, wish to gain what is rightfully ours, we have no other choice than to go and take it, and make the whole world aware of this fact. Hopefully, our actions will call the attention of the entire world to this totally unlawful and immoral Pilgrim force we now face."

Following is the report of Littlefoot from Fort Lawton.)

In the first two reoccupations there had been very poor news coverage. This third one would be placed before every major and minor news media in the United States. It was decided that the third reoccupation would take place on Tuesday morning, April 2, at 10 a.m. so that the various press reporters could have it coast to coast that day.

Everyone making the scene for the first time was briefed as to what to expect: gassing, clubbings, etc. Besides all this we were briefed as to the game. The first time you are picked up on the Fort you are taken in and fingerprinted and photographed. You are presented with an expulsion order that lays down the law, and then you are driven to the gate and turned loose.

The second time you are caught inside you go through the same scene, except you are also informed of a trial date at which time you are tried for unlawful entry. The third time you have to post bail and face all sorts of bad vibes.

The Army types were thick, but very happy that the encampment was being removed from their front gate. So happy were they that a number of off-duty MPs were out helping our People fold tents and teepees for removal. They had the idea that this "second phase" was the removal of the encampment; which could only mean that the Natives had seen the light and had decided to go through the chain of command. The Army types seemed to care less who got the land just so long as the camp (Native) was removed and things were cool.

Everything seemed very cool. The hard-heads that had been in the encampment had gone, and there were perhaps about 30 to 40 Native People in sight, most being females and youths. Being a most cool scene, the Army had just the usual number of MPs on the gate; perhaps half a dozen.

At about three minutes to ten, Cub Bear, our spokesman, gathered the news media and the small number of Natives in front of the gate and commenced to read this proclamation, which was to be the start of phase two:

"We, the Native Americans, in our independent sovereign rights and rights of alliance, herewith claim the land known as Fort Lawton, (Washington) by the acknowledged right of discovery. In the name of all Indians, therefore, we claim this land before the international community for all our Indian nations. We know this claim is just and proper, that this land is, in perpetuity, rightfully ours!"

The key words were: rightfully ours! Cub Bear shouted these last two words when I was about four feet away from him, and following the script, as did the others, I let out a war cry and charged through the gate; past the dumb-struck soldiers. You see, no one had told them that phase two was the removal of the encampment, setting the record straight (no compromises), and lastly reoccupation.

Rushing past the stupefied MPs, we charged into the camp and broke right, calling out our war cries and running like hell. We had caught the Army so damned flat-footed it was just too comical for words; we were most pleased with our little plan. By the way, I think I may thank the soldiers for helping our People to break camp while we ripped-off the fort. Golly, you guys are swell for giving us so much help!

It seems that our military liaison officer went to Cub Bear (he was more important outside because there were still many things to do), and this officer said something like, "Cub Bear, you are playing with me again." Cub Bear just smiled and replied something like, "Yeh, how about that?"

It was a good day for running. There had been bad weather to date, but the morning was bright and clear and the breeze from the ocean was just cool enough to refresh lungs that were being taxed as they had not been in some moons. We ran through the woods laughing and shouting with glee at our coup, and war cries could be heard all over the place.

We moved into the camp and fragmented into small groups. It was now time for the scene to get heavy. Shouting commands for our People to stay in groups of two or three for protection and to stay out of buildings because the Army might trap them inside and gas them.



"IT'S A STAND-OFF. WE HAD JANE FONDA, BUT THEY HAD JOHN WAYNE."

We also shouted that everyone should remain away from the Post Church, for the Christian ministers had refused sanctuary to our People in the past reoccupations and several of our People had been beaten both at the door of the Church and on the steps. The Christian priests were not about to allow "filthy Indians" inside "their" church.

We have a complete tape recording of this church refusal recorded during the second reoccupation; a recording the Army and other enemies never got to and which I have heard and plan to copy on tape when next in the area. This tape, recorded at the time of the second reoccupation also establishes beyond ANY doubt that though our People came peacefully, they were gassed and beaten. This tape will be given the most wide coverage possible at the right time; so be forewarned.

We worked our way deeper into the camp, not knowing where we were going; only concentrating on getting deep into the Fort as we could and giving the soldiers a run for their money.

We paused to get our breaths and bearings, and it came to me in a full light; I was the first member of my family in three generations to rip-off an Army fort. Haya-hei-hail!

While we had been doing our thing, other interesting things had taken place. The enemy demolished three of their own vehicles in chasing our People.

One vehicle was smashed because the MPs were chasing one of our People and the MPs didn't see a tree stump that our kinsman went around. The vehicle smashed into the tree stump.

Two other enemy vehicles were involved in a strange accident. It seems that they were coming down this road in opposite directions and just as they drew close an Indian ran across the road. The drivers saw the Indian and turned to give chase. The drivers forgot about the other vehicles, and they smashed into each other in an almost head-on accident.

I eased down to the road, and saw enemy vehicles parked at some distance in both directions. Giving a war cry I stood up and ran as hard as I could across the road and in the direction of the cemetery. Sure enough, there were soldiers there, but I had a fairly open trail ahead, so I ran for all I was worth.

It was about all over for me and I knew it. I had been moving quite hard through woods and thickets and I was using the last of my power to draw the soldiers away from where my band was hidden. I knew that the other group would be seen, and I hoped that my band hiding in the thickets would not be detected, the soldiers thinking that I was a loner. It worked, for the remainder of my small group were not taken until some time after my capture.

My capture was really quite simple. I was being chased by a soldier young enough to be my son. He, no doubt, had the advantage of being half my age and rested from a full night of sleep. I had had very little in the past three days.

I almost made it to the cemetery, when I just thought, What the hell, I'm finished. I stopped and turned to face the soldier and I shouted, "Okay son... I'm finished. I'm just too damned tired to go any more. Truce." I flopped down beside a tree and gave my aching lungs a rest. I found out that if I could have kept going just a bit longer that the soldier would have been forced to give up. He was in worse condition than I.

We walked back to the road and on the way I joked about all the hardware he was wearing, gas mask and all sorts of "heavy gear." I asked him if he really thought that he needed to have all that armament to capture a handful of unarmed, peaceful, old People and children. He replied that, "Well, you never know." I laughed and said, "You just can't be serious." The soldier almost apologized.

I was loaded onto a pickup truck with several young brothers and three soldiers. We were happy and making all types of hints about escapes and how we had caught them off guard once and we might once more. We were happy, but the soldiers seemed a bit uptight for some reason.

Indians want first crack at surplus federal land

WASHINGTON (AP) — An American Indian spokesman asked Congress Tuesday to give Indians first consideration on surplus federal land.

Bernie Whitebear, a member of the Colville tribe in Washington State, said a bill approved by the Senate and now under consideration in the House would "give no thought to the beneficial aspects of surplus lands to the American Indians."

Whitebear testified before the House Interior Committee.

He said the measure being considered would "allow state and local governments to secure surplus federal properties at less than the federal 50 per cent of fair market value... the scramble for these lands... will be immediate and in many instances without cause."

Indians, he said, need these properties "as land bases to establish training and culture centers in order for them to be self-sufficient."

Eventually Whitebear said, the Indian programs on returned lands would "save millions of dollars from welfare and other poverty programs."

Whitebear represents a group called "The United Indians of All Tribes."

Whitebear's group has national Indian interests at heart, he said, but is immediately interested in recovering for the Indians Fort Lawton, Washington, which is to be declared surplus.

Its 1,170 acres, he said, would be developed into an "all-Indian multi-service center which would include cultural, educational, vocational, recreational and ecology departments."

Under the bill in question, Whitebear said, Seattle could claim the property before the Indians.

Our trip to the Fort brig was informative, for it allowed us to get a bit more of a view which we remarked about, for future rip-offs. The soldiers seemed to be unhappy about our future plans.

The Fort Lawton Brig is an average building, average for a military post. There is a large room that leads to the two large tanks and the small cells. While I could have remained hidden in the hills I knew that I had to get into the brig to check out the charges of gassing, beatings and similar unwarranted acts of open brutality.

Someone had brought a felt tip marking pen in, so our next game was for everyone to write or print the name of their Tribe or Band on the dull painted walls. Any one entering the first tank may look to the right where RED POWER is printed in bold letters. Just to the left of this is printed: Chickamauga, which is my Tribe and I printed that name there. It is just to the left of the bold word: Mohawk!

Being one of the oldest in the tank, I then called for a casualty check, and sure enough, we had four casualties. The worst one was a very young brother who seemed to have a broken hand. We started shouting that we had casualties and we needed medical assistance. It was over an hour and twenty minutes before anyone received any medical aid. The soldiers, enlisted and officers alike, simply ignored our shouts.

This made us most upset, so it was decided that we would try a break out. All this time there was a constant stream of brothers and sisters coming in; so the tank doors were hardly ever closed for more than a few minutes.

As the door was opening once we started to lunge through the MPs. At this time one young brother was in the main room, his hands cuffed behind him and several MPs were hitting him and ramming his head into a wooden partition that served as some sort of an elevated desk. I saw this myself. We all howled in rage at this sight and lashed into any uniform we could get close to. The push bogged down in fights, and just as I broke into the main room, I saw a sister being brought in with her arms held behind her. Two white MPs were dragging her in by her hair and feeling her all over at the same time. This I also saw myself.

All of this action halted the break out, for now we wanted GI blood. The closer we got to the door, the more we compressed the MPs into a wall in front of us. We had one hell of a fight, but we were finally forced back into the tanks. We did, however, go back as a mass. During this time we had a fifth casualty when another young brother was hit in the head and on one hand with a club.

The MP's kept claiming that some of us had weapons. This is a complete lie; at no time did I see or hear of any weapons being had or used by any of our People.

I recall that while in the main room a white N.C.O. was leaning over the wooden partition and lashing out at any Native in reach, smashing his club down like someone chopping wood with an axe. He made no distinction with regards to age or sex.

I would like to stress that none of this fighting would have taken place if the white soldiers had acted like humans and not degenerate animals.

The rest of the day is history and rather dull. Passing troops gave us the "V" and "power fist" as they passed along the road, still looking for some of our People.

That night a general meeting was called for all People that had gone in.

At this time we have about 22 brothers and sisters awaiting trial; 14 from reoccupation number two (their second time in), and eight from reoccupation number three. I estimate at this time that there are about 50 of us who are first timers.

What happens now? ... Hell, we go back in. What else! You see, it comes down to this: This area, this Fort, is ours in all ways. As everyone I have spoken to agrees; if we can't have it, then by God, no one will be able to use it. So we have to keep the pressure on. We may not like it, but we know that we are right. That is why I'll be back at Fort Lawton, possibly before this story is even printed.

WE SHALL LIVE AGAIN!

U.S. Takes Plan to Island

'Indianized' Alcatraz Park

Washington replied yesterday to the demands of the Indian occupiers of Alcatraz—demands that the Government establish an Indian-operated university and cultural center on the island.

The reply was a Department of Interior proposal of its own: to obliterate every last reminder of its grim history as a Devil's Island (even the name Alcatraz itself) and to create in its place "optimum open area."

In a word, a park. But not just another park; rather, a park with "maximal Indian quality."

As the Federal negotiator, Robert Robertson, told the Indians on Alcatraz yesterday: "We want to work with Indian people in determining just how we can maximize Indianness of the island in the context of a park."

MONEY

Robertson, who is executive director of the National Council on Indian Opportunity in Vice President Spiro Agnew's office, met with the Indians on the island February 23, at which time they had demanded \$300,000 to get the ball rolling on a university.

He was back yesterday with the counter-proposal, six pages of single-spaced typing, which he read to them.

The reaction of the Indians cannot be reported, because the press was not invited to the session. Copies of the speech (titled simply "A Proposal") were given to newsmen at a press conference later at the Federal Building.

TIME

Robertson said then the Indians had not accepted the proposal on the spot, but wanted some time to mull it over.

If they rejected the proposal, would they be forced to leave the island?

"Let's wait and see what happens," said Robertson, with a smile.

"I am here today," he told the Indians, "to offer to all of you the product of much thought."

"It is . . . that in Indian days of yore, the island was a bird sanctuary where pelicans roosted . . . who would not wish to return to the tranquil days of yesteryear? I think a lot of us would."

He conceded Indians "have been taken advantage of," but said it was the policy of this Administration to help them "help themselves to a present and future in which their rich heritage and culture can thrive . . . With this aid they can make the choices they desire to make as they desire to make them."

Under the proposal, he told them, the island would be dedicated "to all Indian people" but held in trust by the Federal Government for all Americans.

To protect what he called the symbolic value of the Indian invasion of Alcatraz and to assure that the park will have "a maximal Indian quality," Robertson said an Indian Joint Planning Committee would be formed to work with professionals in the Interior Department.

HINT

He offered a tantalizing hint of things to come: "Let me stress that planning is a process and that this proposed process can evolve interesting results not even imagined at the beginning."

Some of the possibilities he mentioned were: a new name for Alcatraz, possibly from the ancient Ohlone tribe language; monuments commemorating noted Indians through history; a cultural center and museum; Indians among the park rangers.

"This, then, is the very best proposal we could evolve, keeping in mind, at all times, the best interests of Indian people and all other Americans," Robertson told them.



ROBERT ROBERTSON
Interior Dept. proposal

The park proposal, he said, was based on the results of a study ordered by Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel last October 27, a few weeks before the Indians invaded Alcatraz.

That study was to have been completed December 1, but on December 3 spokesmen here said that Hickel had been forced to grant an indefinite extension.

"You are the first to see this attractive report," Robertson told the Indians as he handed them copies.

He also handed newsmen copies later. The Hickel report on the park proposal bore the date November 25, 1969.



BUFFY STE. MARIE AND RICHARD OAKES

Mohawks Support Alcatraz Indians

MASSENA—The chiefs of the Mohawk Nation met Sunday and sent to the Indian people at Alcatraz word of their support, as well as a purse of money.

The chiefs at St. Regis, known as Akwesasne Mohawk Nation, sent the following message, in part:

"Our Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne has counseled and sends all people of Alcatraz Island best regards and wishes. We make our minds known to you, that we support the strong stand you have taken upon our Mother Earth."

"And now we speak to that person among you who is from our nation. Know that you have the power and strength of the Mohawk people through the generations with you. Remember you have the great law of place to guide you. When you have finished your task there, we ask that you turn your mind to making your nation strong."

San Francisco Chronicle
Fri., Mar. 27, 1970

Alcatraz Indians To Receive Gift-- Medical Supplies

Medical supplies worth more than \$15,000 will be delivered to the Indians on Alcatraz this morning, according to the local headquarters of Representative George E. Brown Jr., of Monterey Park, candidate for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senator.

The supplies will include hospital beds, mattresses and blankets, maternity kits, vitamins and bandages. Brown will be at Fisherman's Wharf when the supplies are sent by boat to Stella Leach, medical director on the island.

By EARL CALDWELL
Special to The New York Times

ALCATRAZ, Calif., April 8—The Indians on this former prison island in San Francisco Bay rejected yesterday a Government proposal to turn the island into a park that would have "maximum Indian qualities."

Instead, the Indians insisted that the Government consider their proposal for developing the island. The Indian proposal includes the building of a cultural, educational and spiritual complex.

The Indians gave the Government until May 31 to make a counterproposal. If the Government does not, the Indians said, they will draw up their own ownership deed and seek private funds to develop the island.

The Indians took possession of the island on Nov. 14. They said they had a right to it under the terms of an old treaty giving them a claim on any unused Federal property. The Government said the Indians were trespassers but made no move to have them evicted.

Number Dwindled

In the ensuing months the number of Indians on the island climbed to nearly a thousand. But as the winter rains came, they dwindled to fewer than a hundred.

Then, about a month ago, the Indians began meeting with Government officials and finally asked for a \$300,000 grant to plan the proposed cultural, educational and spiritual center.

The Government responded with its plan for a park. The offer came from Robert Robertson, executive director of the National Council on Indian Opportunity.

As the Indians rejected the park plan yesterday, one of their leaders, John Trudell, said:

"We will no longer be museum pieces, tourist attractions and politicians' playthings. There will be no park on this island, because it changes the whole meaning of what we are here for."

The Indians believe that the Government has not considered their proposal as had been promised.

"We are tired, and we are very sad that the Government did not fulfill its words," one of them said. "While they speak of helping Indian people, their actions belie their words in that they want to do our thinking for us."

Mr. Trudell, a Sioux, said that the complex proposed by the Indians would include the following:

• A center for native American studies aimed at imparting skills and knowledge to improve the lives and spirits of all Indians.

• A spiritual center, which would practice ancient tribal religious and healing ceremonies.

• A center of ecology, to train young people to restore lands and waters to their natural state.

• A training school.

A museum that would depict Indian food and cultural contributions and show the "noble and tragic events of Indian history, including the broken treaties, the documentary of the trail of tears, the massacre of Wounded Knee, as well as the victory over yellow hair Custer and his army."

Mr. Robertson said that the proposal submitted by the Indians for a university-like complex was "neither good planning nor sound policy." He cited the difficulties of providing access and sufficient water, sewage disposal and other services.

Alcatraz Indians Plan Symbolic California Water Importation At Pyramid Lake Locale

RENO — A delegation of Indians from occupied Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay have scheduled a symbolic importation of California water to Pyramid Lake tomorrow.

Mervin Wright, vice chairman of the Inter-Tribal Council, said the Alcatraz Indians would stage the symbolic support of the Pyramid Lake Indians fight for more water for the lake at Sut-

cliffe on the western shore. The Alcatraz Indians will dump a gallon of California Water into the lake.

Wright said the ceremony was the idea of the Alcatraz group and was the first contact between the island's occupying force and the Pyramid Lake group.

'Indian Hippies'

"We voted to let the Alcatraz group come in and perform the ceremony even

though some of the older members felt we were going to see Indian hippies," Wright said.

Wright said the ceremony would be a symbolic protest against the provisions of the Interstate Compact Commission, which Indians feel does not supply enough water to Pyramid Lake. The lake's fluctuating shoreline has

hampere! commercial development there.

Level Drops

Its level has dropped 70 feet since it was discovered by explorer John Fremont.

The loss has been due to climate changes and the increasing municipal and agricultural use of Truckee River water. The compact worked out a formula for sharing the area's water.

SIRS—
OFFER
REJECTED!
THE INDIANS

INDIANS OF ALL TRIBES
Liberated
Nov. 20,
1969
INDIAN LAND, ALCATRAZ
6

Alcatraz Becomes A Mecca

San Jose Mercury-News

MARCH 15, 1970

by JOAN JACKSON

For Most American Indians

7



Photos by DAVE MILTON



MECCA—To American Indians everywhere, the fortress-like island of Alcatraz has become a strong magnet and a rallying point. Its very bleakness, they say, symbolizes their plight in American society. From the island is this view of San Francisco.

Alcatraz is the catalyst that has united the American Indians after 400 years.

The Rock is symbolic now. To the Indians it has become Mecca, theistine Chapel at the end of a holy pilgrimage.

Like a magic force, Alcatraz draws them from everywhere. There are 150 permanent Alcatraz Indians. Thirteen thousand more tribal visitors have been on the island since the original Nov. 14 invasion: Seminoles from Florida, Eskimo from Alaska, Cherokee from Oklahoma, Sioux from Washington, Blackfeet from Montana, Apache from Arizona.

They bring their children, their sleeping bags, their flashlights and catalytic heaters. They stay a day, a week or two or three, and leave with a new strength and pride and determination.

Alcatraz seems like a lousy place for a symbol. But the cold, bleak, uselessness of the island, say the Indians is the thing that makes it symbolic of just what the Indians have today.

Some Indians who live on the island commute to the mainland to jobs or school. A number are ex-servicemen attending college under the G.I. Bill. They wear jeans, boots or moccasins, fringed jackets and beaded headbands. They retain the traditional dress of their tribes, so recently "discovered" by the long-haired hippies who imitate them.

Due to some bad press relations, it had been rumored that the island had been taken over by a group of militant, hot-headed Redmen. What greeted this boatload, however, were 10 eager children waiting for the arrival of a promised case of chewing gum brought by San Josean George Woodard; a man who leaned over from the pier to pluck his little daughter from his wife in the boat and ask her if she had brought the clean shirts (she had, fresh from the laundromat); and a handful of men who had come to help haul chunks of firewood being tossed off the boat.

Steps of chipped granite twist up a steep 500-yard slope to the second level, to a large courtyard where the children play.

At the second level is where most of the 150 permanent island residents now live. The families are housed in comfortable apartments that were originally the married guards' quarters.

In this area is the dispensary, the Black Rock Elementary School where the Indian children attend classes, and the pre-school nursery. To the left, with a spectacular view of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, is the dining room where islanders eat together.

There is no electricity; catalytic heaters give warmth, candles and lanterns, light. Water comes from the government supply.

Families make up the core of Alcatraz Indians. John Trudel, a 24-year-old, soft-

speaking Sioux from Nebraska, is typical of the family father there. A member of the governing Indian Council, he lives on the island with his wife and two daughters.

"It is the government's aim to break down our families and break down our resistance," John maintains. "A lot of reservation Indian children spend their young lives separated from their parents in boarding schools. They separate children from parents with schools that do not teach. We have seen them trying to turn us into white people called Indians, stereotype us, suppress the history of our heritage and culture in the books."

"All this has produced a militancy—a non-violent militancy." But we're not going to be put down by the Bureau of Indian Affairs anymore," he says with dead certainty.

John's wife Lou is Sioux and a non-reservation Indian. She always lived in the city and this is her first contact with other Indian families. The Trudels first came to Alcatraz on weekend visits from San Bernardino.

"It was John's idea to come here permanently. After we came a few times he said 'this is what I would like to do,'" she explains, as she dresses her daughters Morey, 3, and Tina, 2, after their nap.

Lou wasn't exactly ov-

SAN JOSEAN—George Woodard, a Sioux and president of the American Indian Council of Santa Clara Valley, is typical of the "mainland" Indians who stand behind the Alcatraz residents. His young candy-eating friend is Angela Lopez, Pomo Tribe.

enjoyed at becoming an Alcatraz resident. "We had a nice apartment in San Bernardino where we had lived since John had been in college. I was comfortable and wasn't eager to give it up."

But now, she says earnestly, "I don't regret it a moment. It is the idea of a close family thing and a close personal relationship to others—of belonging to each other and being a part of it all. It is something I need to know. It is something our children need to know."

Lou, clad in jeans and a heavy-knit sweater, is a soft-spoken reflection of her husband, a lean-built man who wears a fringed buckskin vest with blue jeans.

Lou says, "I wouldn't mind staying out here forever," and her husband nods in agreement. John had been a student at San Bernardino Junior College before coming to Alcatraz. He tells that he applied at Sherman Institute in Riverside and was told by an official there, "Go out and get a job, boy, you're wasting your time going to college."

Every man, woman and child has a job and a responsibility to the Indians of All Tribes, Inc., which is the name the island Indians have taken.

Ten-year old Mary Moppin, for example, is the "public relations representative" for the Big Rock Elementary School and with youthful seriousness she proudly shows off the school room. There are daily classes for grades kindergarten to seventh, taught by four accredited teachers.

Mary says, "I'm Mary Moppin" and then she stands a little taller and a little prouder as she adds, "Klamath and Mono tribes."

It is typical of the pride that even the little one takes in her heritage. Each Indian identified himself by his name AND his tribe and most wear jackets let tared on back with the words Alcatraz and their tribe, surrounding the Alcatraz Indian symbol.

There also are arts and crafts, there young and old renew the traditions of beadwork and leathercraft. "These Indian children," says Grace

Thorpe, "seldom learn their own culture in school. Here each child has to do research into his tribe's history. They learn the legends and the ways of their people."

In the schools they learn all the devices the white man has, his tools, his machinery, his inventions, his skills, his medicines, his planning. But they retain their own beauty and still are Indians.

Alcatraz

Even before the prison was established, Alcatraz always was a scowling, inhospitable place. The name, Alcatraz, is Spanish for "pelican."

Spanish and Mexican people largely ignored the island, but enterprising Yankees built a lighthouse there and the Army Engineers subsequently converted it into a small Gibraltar in the 1860s. Alcatraz evolved gradually from a fort to a disciplinary barracks to a military prison.

Labeled "Uncle Sam's Devil's Island," Alcatraz came into fame in the 1930s when some well-known names began to appear on its roster. Federal authorities, looking for a supermaximum security prison for the worst Prohibition-era gangsters, found an ideal site in the Rock, which the War Department was then planning to abandon.

In 1934, sealed trains arrived at the Bay's north shore and were barged across the island, bringing the toughest criminals from Atlanta, Leavenworth and other Federal prisons. Among them was Al Capone, who became the Rock's best-known resident. Other guests on the island were notables such as Machine-Gun Kelly, Roy Gardner, "Creepy" Karpis and Basil "The Owl" Banghart.

After 29 years the maximum security prison was abandoned and the prison buildings have gradually decayed since 1963. There were numerous suggestions for the island's future—a gambling casino, a West Coast Statue of Liberty, a monument to the United Nations, a park. No one really knew what to do with that great big white elephant called Alcatraz.

And then the Indians came . . .

Nine Indians Are Jailed After a Four-Day Sit-In at Bureau Office in Colorado

Special to The New York Times

DENVER, March 22 — Nine young Indians who participated in a four-day sit-in at a suburban office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs were jailed late yesterday after the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs met with the protest group.

The Commissioner, Louis R. Bruce, arrived here from Washington and after a two-hour meeting signed a statement agreeing with complaints expressed by the demonstrators and ordered the suspension of three officials in the Indian Affairs office in Littleton.

One of those suspended, Charles McCrea, the chief of the Littleton office, subsequently called in the police and signed a trespass complaint against the nine Indians who continued to refuse to leave the bureau offices.

Sheriff's officers in Arapahoe County said today that the nine could be released by signing personal recognizance bonds. The jailers said the Indians had refused to sign the documents and leave jail. The Indians were to be arraigned in Arapahoe County Court tomorrow.

The demonstrators began their protest on Wednesday

with a list of demands that included Indian preference within the Indian bureau in promotions and transfers and the implementation of a timetable for full Indian employment in the bureau.

Statement of Grievances

With circulation of rumors of Mr. Bruce's arrival yesterday, the demonstrators drew up a statement of grievances against the Indian bureau, which Mr. Bruce signed after conferring with the group.

The statement included acknowledgement of "discrimination against Indians"

within the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and a pledge that the provisions of the equal employment opportunity program would be enforced to "speedily and adequately deal with Indian grievances."

Attached to the statement was a provision for dismissal of Mr. McCrea and two other top employees of the office in Littleton. Mr. Bruce negotiated that demand down to "suspension" of the three while complaints against them were under investigation.

One of the demands was that Mr. Bruce, although an Indian

himself, be dismissed as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

One of the demonstrators, Tillie Walker, the executive director in Denver of the United Scholarship Service, an agency to assist Indian students, said in an interview before Mr. Bruce's arrival that the commissioner was unrepresentative of American Indians and should be dismissed.

Miss Walker was named last summer in Detroit a vice president at large of the National Council of Churches, the first Indian ever to hold such a position within the council.

Miss Walker, a member of

the Mandan tribe who grew up on a reservation at Fort Berthold, S. D., said of Mr. Bruce that "he's supposed to be an Indian, but he came to Washington from Greenwich Village."

"When you've grown up like a white person and have never been part of an Indian community, you don't seem to really care," Miss Walker said. "You have to have an Indian heart."

Miss Walker, although not one of those arrested last night, had been a member of the band of demonstrators since Wednesday.

Add 'S' to BIA? Indians Move Against Bureau

"We cannot and we will not allow the pollution or violation of our lands, our minds and bodies . . . anymore," said Steven Fastwolf, newly elected chairman of the Native American Committee in Chicago.

The statement was made in response to this reporter's inquiry to their headquarters of why various Indian organizations are moving against the Bureau offices across the country.

Areas which are affected are Littleton, Denver, Alameda, Cal., Chicago, Ill., Albuquerque, N. M., Minneapolis, Minn., and Philadelphia, Penn.

The movement began at Littleton, Denver after an Indian woman applied for a job as school counselor and although fully qualified, she was refused.

The students rallied and united behind her and occupied the Bureau offices there. The woman applied as a school counselor at a Bureau school and she would be counseling Indian children.

Twenty-one young Indian people were arrested in two separate incidents at Littleton. The arrests triggered a chain reaction among this country's native people and without any fanfare, they also converged on their Bureau offices.

Twenty-three were arrested in Chicago, twelve in Alameda, Cal., twenty-five in Minneapolis, and thirty at Philadelphia.

Spokesmen in California and Chicago both said that the main complaint which all Indian people have against the Bureau of Indian Affairs is discrimination. Discrimination against Bureau employees of Indian descent.

Discrimination charges alleged are for low priority for promotions, menial and "nothing" positions, and strict adhering to "company rules" while the non-Indians don't have to.

"Discrimination is the major complaint, however, along with these charges, we are including some of the local problems which we are affected by," said Fastwolf.

Fast Wolf said that in their area, there are approximately 15,000 Indians who live in Chicago.

They are being displaced by the city's urban renewal projects and many have not been lucky enough to find any temporary housing.

"We asked the Bureau for help and also appealed to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, not only locally but at the Washington level," he said.

"We were listened to, given the usual lip-service, then nothing happened."

Indian organizations have also charged the Bureau has tapped their telephones, stationed plainclothesmen in and around Bureau offices so they can make immediate arrests, and the Bureau has cut all communications to the Indian organizations, whether they are involved or not.

Another major demand that Indians are making nationwide is for the resignation of Louis Bruce as Commissioner for the BIA.

"That request is ironic," said a spokesman from California, "especially since Mr. Bruce gave us support on all our demands . . . but he is hampered by hostile decision-makers who are at the top levels of the Bureau."

Fast Wolf summed up the movement by saying, "We are supporting a move to make the BIA a Bureau of Indians, instead of a haven for non-Indians who make a career at our expense."

LITTLETON, Colo. (AP) — A handful of American Indians remained locked in the Bureau of Indian Affairs Plant Management Branch office here Thursday, in protest of what they call discrimination in hiring and promotions, and misuse of government property and funds for Indians.

Duane Bird Bear, 21, an Hidatsa-Mandan Indian from Mandaree, N.D., and winner of a Kennedy Fellowship for community service, said the 11 inside the building would not resist arrest by federal officers.

With Bird Bear in the building were another group spokesman, Bruce Davies of Wheat Ridge, a 20-year old Sioux from Rapid City, S.D.; Jim Jones, 21, a Cheyenne Blackfoot recently from Alaska; Pat Baer, 24, a Blackfoot from Browning, Mont.; Lynda Bernal, 23, a Taos Pueblo Indian from Taos, N.M.; Linda Benson, 26, a Sac-Fox from Pama, Iowa; Virginia Reeves, 28, a Navajo from Shiprock, N.M.; Harry Buckanage, 22, Sisseton, S.D., a Sioux; his 20-year old brother, Richard; John Gill, 21, a Sioux also from Sisseton; and Sue Kulch of Denver, an Apache.

Bird Bear said those involved in the demonstration received food contributed during the night by members of Denver's Indian community.

Demonstrators' target is BIA 'discrimination'



Denver Post Photo by Floyd McCall

Protest at Littleton

'Sink or Swim' Policies

Feb. 1, 1970 THE WASHINGTON POST

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By Sol Tax
and Sam Stanley

Dr. Tax is professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago and acting director of the Smithsonian Institution's Center for the Study of Man. Dr. Stanley is program coordinator of the Center. This article is excerpted from a paper in "Toward Economic Development for Native American Communities," a compendium of studies recently published by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

THE BASIC LAW concerning American Indians requires that we return to the original definition of a special relation between the United States government and Indian communities. American Indians have never lost this conception because, unlike most Americans, Indians do not conceive of themselves except first as members of communities.

American Indians live in "kinship societies." It is "unnatural," perhaps impossible, for Indians to be isolated from their communities. Traditionally, the communities banded into larger political units called "tribes" or nations, which were recognized by European nations as sovereign. But the smaller communities, whether "sovereign" or not, were indispensable and valid units.

These "communities," recognized by their Indian members, must also be recognized as the units with which governmental Indian policy must deal. Individual families and persons have rights guaranteed to every citizen, and legislation need not concern them. Indian communities are recipients of what special rights tradition, treaties and the needs of Indians require.

Legislation for American Indians has in the past been unsuccessful both because communities have been forced to operate in terms of our culture rather than their own and because they had no ultimate authority over internal management, being subject to veto power—hence constant surveillance—from outside. What is required, therefore, is a legislative program which provides maximum internal autonomy and authority for Indian communities.

American Indian communities require funds for education, health, welfare and economic development. The general society provides such funds to replace the resource base which—if restored—would provide independence. Since the resource base (the continent which Europeans occupied) cannot be restored to Indian communities, money must be substituted. Just as Indian communities managed their resources independently before, for the money to be useful they must manage it independently now.

The legislation required must, therefore, be drafted in such a way that each of the many hundreds of American Indian communities, however they are defined and bounded by Indians—from the small bands and subtribes to recreated urban "Indian center" communities—can each in its own way autonomously manage the resources that must be provided.

They Won't Get Lost

THROUGH ALL OF our history, states as well as the federal government have been frustrated with respect to solving the problems of the American Indians.

We have vacillated between (1) a policy of starving the Indians into throwing in the sponge and "getting lost" in the general population, and (2) a kinder policy of helping them to get themselves ready to leave Indian ways and get lost in the general population. In either case, they would then be off our consciences, and finally out of our pocketbooks. Both policies have failed.

When we have followed the first policy, and thrown them into the water to "sink or swim," we have found that the Indians neither sink nor swim; they just float, and remain the same problem. When we have followed the second, kinder policy, we have found that Indians do not, in fact, do the things that will lead to their disappearance. They do not want to get lost.

Can Never Help Indians



U.S. Army Signal Corps Photograph

At Ft. Laramie, U.S. commissioners and Indian chiefs discuss a treaty to put the Sioux on a reservation.

But gold seekers violated the 1868 treaty and the great Sioux War resulted.

The "kind" policy will work only if we have the patience to continue to use our resources to help Indian communities to adjust to the national economy freely and in their own way. But their own way might not be to get lost at all.

Every man and woman has the personal problem of deciding what sort of person he wants to be. Some Indians may want to become white men in their allegiance and their ways; this ought to be their right. But many Indians want to maintain their Indian values and allegiance, and many Indian communities want to maintain for their posterity an identity and heritage that were given to them. They too have this right.

It is not for any white man, or Congress or the Indian Service bureaucracy, to demand that Indians stop being Indians.

It is a challenge which has never been met in the United States to help the Indians to adjust economically and socially to American life so that they actually become financially independent. We cannot begin to solve the problem unless we first recognize that Indians have a right to make this adjustment as Indians.

Leaving them free to make their own choices removes the great block to constructive change. What folly it has been to demand that Indians cooperate in plans for making them something other than they want to be! What an interesting experiment, on the other hand, once the block is removed, to develop with them ways toward that greatest freedom which comes with economic independence!

The Indian policy that has most recently been with us has been the sink or swim policy, the less moral way that has never worked and never can. It does not get Indians out of our pocketbooks—indeed, this un-Christian policy (as Gen. Eisenhower once called it) requires more money rather than less—and it certainly does not get them off the conscience of the nation.

The present policy, aimed at the disappearance of the Indians, is a double-edged sword. On the one side, there is a nauseating paternalism. Indians get help from the government because, since we destroyed their means of livelihood, they need it, and it is our moral obligation to continue this help until we and they are wise enough to make them once again independent. But meanwhile the Indian Bureau, like any overprotective parent, demands that the Indians manage their own affairs; but, on the grounds that they do not know how, never lets them try, and becomes sure, more than ever, that

they are incompetent to do so.

They say, in effect, that as long as we pay the bills, we shall manage your communities. If you think you are competent to manage your own affairs, then cut yourselves off from the financial assistance as well. Money to live on, or freedom; you can't have both, so take your choice.

But the Indians have not the resources for the medical, educational and developmental needs of their communities. So they must choose the continued interference in their local affairs. This satisfies nobody and gets nowhere. Congress, frustrated, then attempts to use force or bribery to induce Indian communities to make the other choice.

Spending for Themselves

WE NEED AN ENTIRELY new approach. We need to separate the two problems of the money which the Indians need for their community services from the way the money is used.

Nobody should ever again interpret our policy as one which is importantly influenced by a desire to save money to the detriment of Indians and in violation of our traditional and moral obligations. It has been and should be our policy to make it unnecessary to provide special services, hence to make Indians independent. But until this is accomplished, the money should be provided because it is needed and because it is right.

Therefore, the first plank of our policy is to assure Indians that we shall continue to provide in the federal budget the money needed to continue Indian services. For the time being, we suggest that the same budget now provided be continued.

But this money should be spent by the Indians, for themselves, rather than for the Indians by bureaucrats. Just as a government might provide a

subsidy to a hospital or a university without taking over the functions of administering the hospital or university, so the funds available to Indians should be looked upon as subsidies to assist them to provide their own community services—health, welfare, public order, education, development.

But whatever changes occur from one system of administration to another or from one allocation to another, they should be entirely voluntary on the part of the Indians who are now recipients of the services for which the funds are provided. If Indians prefer to have the federal government agencies continue to administer their services, no change need be made. Whenever, however, an Indian community, or the recipients of services, wish to seek changes in administration, these changes should be provided at once.

Funds for services should be continued for the same services. Funds for administration should be made flexible so that as much as necessary can be used by tribes with which to hire non-governmental help for administration of their affairs, when they wish to make a change; and to pay the expenses of a panel of volunteer advisers set up independent of the Department of Interior from which Indian communities may obtain general advice in planning changes in how their affairs may be administered.

If the Bureau of Indian Affairs withdraws away, it will be because Indians will find other ways, which they prefer, to have their funds administered. There will be no "termination" with respect to provision of services as long as they are needed by Indians. "Withdrawal" will occur not as the government withdraws from its obligations but as the Indians withdraw from government interference in the administration of their services.

Indian Aid Increase in Budget

WASHINGTON (UPI)—President Nixon, in his fiscal 1971 budget submitted to Congress, pledged "to provide the American Indians with the assistance and opportunity necessary to live in prosperity, dignity, and honor."

He requested \$324,804,000 for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, headed by Louis Bruce of Richfield Springs, N.Y., for the year beginning July 1.

This represents spending of approximately \$540 for each of the estimated 800,000 In-

dians in the United States, and is an increase of \$20.74 million over the amount

budgeted for the current fiscal year. There are about 8,000 Indians in New York State.

Nixon's budget said some programs will get less money and some more. Most of the increase is for education and welfare services—representing \$182.7 million, up \$24.9 million from the present authorization. The increase will expand kindergartens, improve the higher education program and its curriculum,

and help public schools with large Indian enrollments. Other major amounts in the BIA budget request include \$55.24 million for resource management, up \$6,597 and \$26.26 million for construction, down \$11.95 million.

The budget proposed a tribal development fund of \$5 million initially. This new item would be used to stimulate projects by Indians to generate income and new jobs.

Watertown Daily Times
Feb. 2, 1970

Advertising Makes Good Things Happen

The government's statements that their Indian Policy is merely "a proposal and a guide" are being proven false by the amount of money the government plans to spend on selling it.

On January 26th it is spending \$700,000 for part of this fiscal year (ending March 31, 1970) and \$1,250,000 next year (April 1, 1970 to March 31, 1971) to implement the policy.

The government appears to be going ahead to implement the new policy regardless of the views of the Indian people.

The Indian people have almost, with one voice rejected the policy proposed to the government in June 25, 1969.

An expenditure of more than \$100,000 a month means the policy will be imposed on the Indian people whether they like it or not.

indian policy

Publicity-seeking charged

MAR 2 1 1970

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Chretien not wanted at Indian hockey meet

MONTREAL STAR

For the Indians

By BOYCE RICHARDSON

Special to The Globe and Mail

SAULT STE. MARIE — Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien was advised yesterday by spokesmen for the Union of Ontario Indians that he would not be welcome at ceremonies today to open an all-Indian hockey tournament.

Frederick Plain, president of the union, said Mr. Chretien was to have met the union yesterday afternoon to discuss the Indian white paper. He said the minister's office advised local officials yesterday morning that he would be unable to attend. However, the minister offered to come to the Soo today to officiate in ceremonies opening the hockey tournament and also to meet the executive council of the union.

Mr. Plain said that if the minister couldn't come for the business session yesterday, then he isn't wanted for the athletic events today.

Mr. Plain said the Indians feel that Mr. Chretien is only looking for publicity and is not interested in discussing the white paper.

On Thursday, Mr. Plain advised the Indian council that Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau would not be attending their conference or hockey tournament. He said an official invitation and four telephone calls were made to the Prime Minister's office and it was not until the fourth call that officials were advised that Mr. Trudeau would not be coming.

"For some reason, the Prime Minister found it impossible to attend and mingle socially and informally with Indian leaders of Ontario. He has repeatedly said he was interested in the progress of the Indian peoples.

This makes nonsense of the entire Indian position, and shatters into smithereens the government promises during the long consultation meetings that they would fulfil past agreements.

But the Indians do not want to have anything to do with Dr. Barber.

They do not want anything, either, to do with the team set up inside the department under the assistant deputy minister for Indian consultation and negotiation. The Indian leaders are already calling this the implementation committee.

No explanation

Mr. Howard said the team is already spending \$100,000 every month implementing a policy that is supposed just to be a series of suggestions. Mr. Moses, the Indian member of this team, was sent along to explain the government's policy, and promptly said he could not explain anything because he was a civil servant. He would not like to say that the government's policy was devious or even that it was not devious. And he could not say anything about the \$100,000.

The McGill teach-in was an impressive manifestation of public opinion in support of the Indian doubts about the new policy. But what was equally clear is that public opinion, especially in Quebec, is unorganized, and will have to organize quickly if the government is to be persuaded to change its mind.

of what can only be called the insufferable arrogance of the government. The performance of the three civil servants sent along to justify government policy was necessarily pathetic. Cy. Fairholm, who has been deeply involved from the beginning in the policy review, probably the only man who sat through all 18 consultation meetings across the country, began his contribution to a panel on Indians and the law as if he scarcely thought a bunch of students were worth talking to. By the end of the panel he was busily taking notes on the many cases of injustice and prejudice towards Indians that members of the audience were able to describe from their own experiences.

When Frank Howard, NDP member, made a detailed exposé of the way the government has been acting since the policy was announced, Russel Moses, an Indian member of the department was stranded. Mr. Howard made quite clear that in three ways the government has shown that it intends, by a unilateral decision, to waltz on Indian aboriginal rights. The first of these is the vagueness about aboriginal rights in the policy statement itself. More eloquent is the deliberate decision to exclude aboriginal rights from the terms of reference of the claims commissioner, and the third, of course, is Prime Minister Trudeau's speech attacking the whole conception and saying that "the treaties cannot go on forever."

No coherent account

One of the main attractions of the teach-in for many Indians was the prospect that at long last they might get a coherent account from Dr. Barber of exactly what he is authorized to consider as claims commissioner. But Dr. Barber, who is a University of Saskatchewan professor and a government appointed member of the Northwest Territories Council, did not turn up. Mr. Howard however showed that he is not really an Indian Claims Commissioner at all: he has been appointed under the Enquiries Act, just like any tribunal or Royal Commission, and his terms of reference are to investigate Indian claims about their treaty rights and about Indian programs. His job is not to revindicate these claims, as does the Indian Claims Commission in the United States, but to look into them and make a report to the government about them. He is excluded from investigating claims to land taken without Indian consent, which means that he cannot hear anything about the BC land claims, the claims of Indians to land in Northern Quebec, or to the land promised but never delivered to Indians under treaties in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon.

A whiff of arrogance

THE complete failure of the government to provide any serious defence of their Indian policy at the McGill University teach-in last week, was as abject an admission of its failure as one is likely to see. The organizers of the teach-in tried to get senior government people to explain what they are up to. They started with the minister, Jean Chretien, who refused. They tried to get Dr. David Munroe, who heads the consultation and negotiation team that is supposed to be working with the Indians in advancing policy changes. He didn't come. They tried to get Dr. Lloyd Barber, the new Indian Claims Commissioner. He didn't turn up.

It was left to Ian Watson, chairman of the House of Commons Indian Affairs Committee, to explain government policy, but he hardly sounded convinced himself, and convinced no one else.

Apparently, the government is above taking part in a mere student teach-in. Indian leaders came from Ontario, Alberta, Arizona. Young Indians drifted in from various places, some of them without enough money to pay for a hotel room. They slept on friends' floors, a different floor each night sometimes, and stayed the whole course listening eagerly to the arguments.

Teach-in a success

The teach-in showed that the government has completely misread public opinion on the issue (and it also indicates that they are out of touch with the modern workings of the democratic process. Participatory democracy, my eye!) The teach-in was a spectacular success, the most significant meeting on the affairs of Indians that has been held in Quebec for many years. It was organized by the six young Indians who have formed the Intertribal Students' Council at McGill, with the aid of some white friends. They were given a grant of \$3,000 by the McGill Debating Union, and they made marvellous use of it.

For four days, a large audience of students and of many interested Montrealers sat through long, difficult and sometimes rambling sessions without any flagging of interest, and though there was a tendency at first for a sort of blind acceptance of the basic premises of the Indian position, by the end even the Indian attitudes had come under pretty thorough scrutiny.

Out of this scrutiny, it was not, however, the Indian position which emerged badly. Indeed, what the Indian leaders were saying seemed to make more and more sense, as the teach-in developed, and more especially in face

House of Commons
APRIL 16, 1970

ROBERT SIMPSON
(PC, CHURCHILL):

Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Because of the rejection by Indian people in various parts of Canada of the Government's proposals for a new Indian policy, has the Government hired or entered into a contract with a consultant or consultants to advise the Government on means of gaining acceptance of this new policy by the Indian people? . . . I should like to ask the Minister whether Mr. W. I. C. Wuttunee, who has been such a strong advocate of this new policy, was hired on a \$200 per day, plus expenses, Government retainer to advise the Government on means of getting the Indians to accept the new policy?

MR. SPEAKER:

Order, please. I think the supplementary question should be placed on the order paper.

MR. SIMPSON:

Mr. Speaker, I rise on a question of privilege that not only affects the members of this House but a large majority of the Indian people in Canada. I asked the question because the Government has indicated on many occasions in this House that it will not put this policy into effect without full consultation with the Indian people. The Indian people have interpreted this as being an indication that the Government is willing to accept amendments to this new policy. Since we have learned that the Government has asked for the opinion of these consultants as to how to gain the acceptance of Indian people of the policy as it now stands, I think a question of privilege. . . .

MR. SPEAKER:

Order, please. The hon. member will appreciate that it is difficult for the chair to place that interpretation on the question he has asked. In view of the hon. member's explanation, and the fact that the hon. minister is rising on the question of privilege, he might be allowed to reply to the question.

INDIAN AFFAIRS AND
NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT
MINISTER JEAN CHRETIEN:

Mr. Speaker, I should like to reply to the question of privilege. It is true that this man has been hired by the department as a consultant. He is a lawyer of Indian background. I want to point out that we spend thousands and thousands of dollars through the Indian Association. Many of them are not in agreement, but we hope to give them money to have a real public debate. . . .

NOTICE



THIS IS AN INDIAN RESERVE

Any person who lives on an Indian Reserve is guilty of an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding his total hope for the future and to imprisonment for a term not exceeding his entire lifespan, as per the Canadian Indian Policy.

Department of Indian Misery and Northern Starvation
OTTAWA.

INDIAN STUDENTS posted this bulletin on McGill university's walls.

Sweet-talking the Indians

The recent statements by Red Power leaders clearly demonstrate their hostility to and criticism of the New Indian Policy, which they have categorized as "cultural genocide". In the wake of this criticism, the Indian Affairs Branch has been sending senior officials out to the reserves to explain the policy and calm the restless natives. This is quite normal strategy for the Branch which, for over a century, has been dispatching bureaucrats to sweet-talk Indians and smooth their ruffled feathers. For example, when some Indians in Saskatchewan voiced concern over their future, one senior civil servant offered these words of reassurance (through an interpreter, of course).

"Indians of the plains, Crees, Chippeways, Assiniboines and Chippewas, my message is to all. I am here today as (a representative) under the Queen. The Crees for many days have sent word that they wanted to see some one face to face. The Crees are the principal tribe of the plain Indians, and it is for me a pleasant duty to be here today and receive the welcome I have from them. I am here because the Queen and her Councillors have the good of the Indian at heart, because you are the Queen's children and we must think of you for today and tomorrow; the condition of the Indians, their future has given the Queen's Councillors much anxiety. In the (part) of Canada from which I came, we have many Indians; they are growing in numbers, and are as a rule happy and prosperous; for a hundred years red and white hands have been clasped together in peace.

The instructions of the Queen are to treat the Indians as brothers, and so we ought to be. The Great Spirit made this earth we are on. He planted the trees and made the rivers flow for the good of all his people, white and red; the country is very wide and there is room for all. . . This is the fourth time that I have met my Indian brothers, and standing here on this bright day with the sun above us, I cast my eyes to the East down to the great lakes and I see a broad road leading from there to the Red River. . . On that road. . . I see all the Indians (taking the Queen's hand). I see the Queen's Councillors taking the Indian by the hand saying we are brothers, we will lift you up, we will teach you, if you will learn, the cunning of the white man. All along that road I see Indians gathering. I see gardens growing and houses building; I see them receiving money from the Queen's Commissioners to purchase clothing for their children; at the same time I see them enjoying their hunting and fishing as before, I see them retaining their old mode of living with the Queen's gift in addition. . .

"I met the Crees at Carleton, they heard my words there, they read my face, and through that, my heart, and said my words were true, and they took my hand on behalf of the Queen. What they did, I wish you to do. I wish you to travel on the road I have spoken of, a road I see stretching out broad and plain to the Rocky Mountains. I know that you have been told many stories, some of them not true; do not listen to the bad voices of men who have their own ends to serve, listen rather to those who have only your good at heart. I have come a long way to meet you; . . . I have sent you a message that you would be met. . . and I do not forget my promises. . .

"I have come seven hundred miles to see you. Why should I take all this trouble? (One) reason is a personal one, because since I was a young man my heart was warm to the Indians, and I have taken great interest in them; for more than twenty-five years I have studied their condition in the present and in the future. I have been many years in public life, but the first words I spoke in public were for the Indians; and in that vision of the day I saw the Queen's men understanding their duty; I saw them understanding that they had no right to wrap themselves up in a cold mantle of selfishness, and that they had no right to turn away and say, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' On the contrary, I saw them saying, the Indians are our brothers, we must try to help them to make a living for themselves and their children. I tell you, you must think of those who will come after you.

"As I came here, I saw tracks leading to the lakes, once well beaten, now grown over with grass; I saw bones bleaching by the wayside; I saw the places where the buffalo had been, and I thought, what will become of the Indian. I said to myself, we must teach the children to prepare for the future; if we do not, but a few suns will pass and they will melt away like snow before the sun in spring-time. You know my words are true; you see for yourselves and

know that your numbers are lessening each year. Now the whole burden of my message from the Queen is that we wish to help you in the days that are to come. We do not want to take away the means of living that you have now, we do not want to tie you down; we want you to have homes of your own where your children can be taught to raise for themselves food from mother earth. You may not all be ready for that, but some, no doubt, are, and in a short time others will follow. I am here to tell you what we are ready to do. . . All we seek is your good; I speak openly, as brother to brother, as a father to his children. . . Hear my words, come and join the great band of Indians who are walking hand-in-hand with us on the road I spoke of when I began — a road I believe in my heart, will lead the Indian on to a much more comfortable state than he is in now. My words when they are accepted, are written down, and they last, as I have said to the others, as long as the sun shines and the river runs. . . The Government will not interfere with the Indian's daily life, they will not bind him. . .

And so it was that the Queen's representative, Alexander Morris, calmed the doubts of the Plains Indians who were worried about the impact of a New Indian Policy on their lives. Two days later, on September 9, 1876, reassured by the warm rhetoric and extravagant visions

of Morris, the Indians ceded, released, surrendered and yielded up to the Queen and her successors forever, all their rights, titles, and privileges whatsoever to 120,000 square miles of the most fertile land in present-day Saskatchewan and Alberta. In exchange they were given a present of \$12.00 for each Indian, a "reserve not exceeding one square mile for each family of five", and a few hoes, reaping hooks, axes, etc. for those who would settle down farming. For each chief there was a red suit of clothes as well as a horse, buggy and harness to carry him around his reserve in style.

That the rhetoric from Indian Affairs personnel has changed but little in a century is not surprising. Certainly Morris got excellent mileage out of his. But we do wonder what baubles of the post industrial society are promised in the sweet-talk of 1970. Would you believe red nylon jumpsuits and a Skidoo?

(Note: The quotations are from *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*, by Alexander Morris, Toronto, Belfords, Clarke & Co. Publishers MDCCCLXXX.)

Ignatius E. LaRusie

30 JANUARY 1970

McGill
reporter

Question: Did the proposed policy respond adequately to the felt needs and concerns of the Indian population? Did it promote the mutual understanding and cooperation between the government and the Indians which are so necessary for the solution of the social, economic, and political problems which the Indian peoples of Canada face? From the record the answer is clearly no. Mr. Chrétien stated on the second of November in Regina, "At the root of the Indian reaction to the proposals is distrust of government and Canadian society as a whole." Mr. Chrétien is largely correct. The question then is, did the White Paper exacerbate this distrust of governmental intentions and objectives? It did.

The Federal government initiated a national meeting of Indian leaders in Ottawa in 1968 and held a series of consultations in all of the provinces to obtain Indian suggestions about amending the Indian Act and to ascertain Indian opinions. The dominant concerns expressed by Indian leaders from coast to coast were recognition of aboriginal land rights, unfulfilled treaty obligations, and the abrogation of hunting and fishing rights. Another important concern was education; many Indian leaders have suggested that the present educational system amounts to cultural genocide.

The proposals claim to be "a response to things said by Indian people at the consultation meetings which began a year ago and culminated in a meeting in Ottawa in April."

Question: What does the new policy say about aboriginal rights to land? It denies their validity in one sentence stating, "These are so general and undefined that it is not realistic to think of them as specific claims capable of remedy. . . ." Yet most reserves were allocated only for residential purposes, especially in the North, and do not represent even a minuscule fraction of the lands which Indians used in the past or even use today. Furthermore most Indian groups in British Columbia, the Yukon, and Northern Quebec do not have any treaties at all and thus have no formal land holdings other than their small reserves, if that. Thus, contrary to the Proclamation of 1763 and other legal instruments, this policy would deny redress to those Indians who do not have treaties. According to the White Paper the Commissioner will only deal with claims resulting from formal treaties and agreements.

In sum the proposals do not respond to the felt needs of the Indian people, and have not fostered understanding or communication. They have shut doors, not opened them. I quote from the policy proposal now—"Not always, but too often, to be an Indian is to be without—without a job, a good house, or running water, without knowledge, training or

technical skill. . . ."

Question: Will the new policy change this substantially? I think not. The amount allocated for Indian economic development is \$45.44 per Indian per year, in the form of loans which will primarily benefit Southern Indian bands because of their relative sophistication.

The Federal government has proposed an investment of \$225 million dollars over fifteen years for the 100,000 residents of PEI or a per capita, per annum investment of \$150.

"To be an Indian is to lack power. . . the power to change your own condition," the policy states.

Question: Does the new policy materially eradicate this powerlessness? In my opinion, it does not. The government proposes the transfer of many services to the provincial governments. The government promises consultation and negotiation with all parties but it did not even consult with the Indian people about the new policy proposals. There are no safeguards written into the policy to protect the Indians' interests either during the negotiations or after a transfer.

Conclusion

The assumption of the Trudeau government clearly is that provincial governments will deal fairly and adequately with the massive needs of their Indian citizens. But will they? First, do they have the massive resources needed and the necessary expertise? The Hawthorn Report indicates that only one or two provinces in the foreseeable future have the resources to work with the Indian peoples of their provinces to solve the massive economic and social problems which exist. In this regard, it is not comforting to look at the provinces' efforts so far. No legal barriers have existed to prevent provinces from working with Indian groups in community development programs or on economic development. Rarely have they done so. Rarely have they shown themselves to be concerned with the rights of their Indian citizens. British Columbia was the first to grant the provincial vote for Indians; it was in 1949. By 1960 Manitoba, Ontario, Saskatchewan, and the Yukon Territory had done so. Only in 1963 did New Brunswick, PEI, and Alberta do so. Finally, twenty years after BC, Québec did so a few months ago.

Let us think about education a moment. Mr. Chrétien's department has had agreements with school boards and provincial education departments for several years. Mr. Chrétien argued recently (October 16th, 1969) that, "In many fields, such as education and welfare, the provinces are better equipped to provide the services to Indian people." He continues, "I

believe it is only reasonable that Indian citizens should benefit from this greater expertise which we in Ottawa have tried to duplicate under the present system." But again, let us look at the record. None of these education agreements have specified that special curricula should be developed, that indigenous teachers should be recruited, or that non-Indian teachers teaching Indian children would have to take special training in Indian history or cultures. None of these agreements has given Indian parents the right to decide what their children would be taught or by whom. Without the incentive of such specifications no provinces or territories have reformed their educational systems to cope with the special needs of Indian children.

The federal-provincial agreements to provide educational services for Indian children concluded to date certainly do not inspire confidence in the good will or expertise of the provinces in dealing with Indian Affairs.

On the contrary, if this pattern of federal-provincial transfers of responsibility and funds prevails in the future, Indians' lack of power to influence their own lives will increase, not decrease.

I think the proposed new policy:

1. has increased Indian distrust of the Canadian government and has not dealt justly with the Indians' aboriginal rights, unfulfilled treaty obligations, hunting and fishing rights, and desire for educational reform.
2. is inadequate to cope with the massive economic problems Indians face, and
3. does not provide any safeguards for Indian interests and rights either during the federal-provincial negotiations over the transfer of services or afterwards.

In conclusion the new Indian Policy is unacceptable to most of the Indian peoples of Canada and should be unacceptable to other Canadians for the reasons I have cited above. Any further action on these policies should await the counter-proposals of the Indian groups. In deference to these counter-proposals, I would only like to make three suggestions:

1. That aboriginal land claims, hunting and fishing rights, treaty obligations, and educational reform be dealt with explicitly in the new proposals, Government and Indian, and settled to the Indians' satisfaction.
2. That the Indian bands and associations participate as directly as possible in any federal-provincial negotiations and have the right to refuse any specific transfers which are proposed until their present and future interests have been guaranteed by all parties, and
3. that federal, provincial, and Indian resources adequate to the task of achieving economic parity with the dominant society be made available to Indian groups.

THE NEW INDIAN POLICY: 12 LESSONS FROM THE U.S.

by JAMES A. DURAN

The "new" Indian policy of the Government of Canada announced on June 25 by Minister Jean Chrétien is in reality not "new." The same policy was actively pursued by the United States from 1953 through 1960, though its harshest aspects were mitigated after September 1958. During those years, the U.S. Congress passed many laws and amendments, recommended by the Executive Branch, designed to "get the United States out of the Indian business" and to shift responsibility for Indian affairs from the federal government to the states. The Congress, restless about the necessity to consider the heavy volume of legislation on Indian affairs and to appropriate sums of money in seeming perpetuity, approved the withdrawal of the federal government from its historic obligations to the Indian people even without their consent. Sixty-one reservations were "liberated," as Secretary of Interior McKay once described the process. Careful study of three of the most important groups terminated, i.e. four bands of Paiutes, the Klamath, and the Menominee, has shown that the consequences have been — to say the least — disastrous for the majority of the Indians involved. "Municipalization" (I understand this is supported by the NDP) which was implemented in the case of the Menominee proved that even these ably-led Indians were not ready to meet the revolution forced upon them. In most cases, although Indians were consulted, it is now clear that they simply did not understand what was happening. So terrible were the consequences that Secretary of Interior Fred A. Seaton on September 18, 1959, announced the end of the program of involuntary termination.

Most of the states refused to allow the U.S. federal government to surrender its responsibilities, even though federal financial assistance had been promised. When faced with the issue, the California, Nevada and Wisconsin legislatures memorialized Congress to continue federal control. The legislatures of New Mexico, Arizona, North Dakota and Montana, while likewise refusing to assume jurisdiction, actually requested the federal government to increase its appropriations for Indians on federal reservations within their states. The complexity of transferring such responsibilities was grossly underestimated. With rapidly rising budgets in the post World War II years, the states were unwilling to add what admittedly would be an additional burden if the life of America's most deprived minority were to be substantially improved while respecting their human rights, including the right of cultural freedom.

In view of the U.S. experience, Mr. Chrétien's plan to wipe out his department within five years seems to be an ill-founded dream which, if executed, will be done over the objections of the Indians themselves. Considering the actions of Mr. Yaremko in the Province of Ontario and the failure of the government of British Columbia to honor the property rights of the Indians there, what indeed can the Indians of Canada expect from provincial governments? The statement of the Indian National Brotherhood released in Ottawa records the bitter opposition of the Indian community to the termination of federal responsibility in Canada. Is the Canadian Government going to disregard the record of human tragedy that occurred in the United States and pursue what in so many phases is a policy identical to that of the Eisenhower years?

In Canada the purpose of the termination policy outlined by Mr. Chrétien obviously follows very closely the stated opinion of Prime Minister Trudeau:

The policy rests upon the fundamental right of Indian people to full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of Canada.

To argue against this right is to argue for discrimination, isolation and separation. No Canadian should be excluded from participation in community life, and none should expect to withdraw and still enjoy the benefits that flow to those who participate.

The "community" referred to by Mr. Chrétien is that of Canada at large. By this, it is meant that the unique direct federal relationship to the Indians on reserves should come to an end. "It is no longer acceptable that the Indian people should be outside and apart..." in receiving a wide range of services through a department of the federal government rather than from provincial and local officials.

Clearly, the Trudeau Government wishes to end the "anomaly of treaties between groups within society" as soon as possible. While recognizing the "sense of griev-

ance" of the Indian community about the failure of the Government to honor the spirit of its commitments, Mr. Chrétien declares:

The terms and effects of the treaties between the Indian people and the Government are widely misunderstood. A plain reading of the words used in treaties reveals the limited and minimal promises which were included in them.

When one considers the unequal competence in law between the negotiators for the Crown and the Indians, this insistence on observing only the letter of the agreement neglects the spirit in which the negotiations were conducted. The Indians of North America relied primarily on an oral tradition, and village elders still refer, in the case of certain numbered treaties in Canada, to oral proclamations made by the agents of the Crown. Given their non-European cultural background, the Indians considered the oral commitments as binding, if not more so, as the brief written terms of the treaties.

In contrast to the Canadian position, the United States Supreme Court has consistently held that in view of the inequality of the bargaining power of the parties all ambiguities in such treaties and agreements must be resolved in favor of the Indians. Moreover, when the statute was enacted in 1948 establishing the Indian Claims Commission, the United States Congress frankly recognized the same principle by giving very broad authority for adjudication of long-standing land claims.

Even more striking is Mr. Chrétien's statement that "aboriginal claims are so general and undefined that it is not realistic to think of them as specific claims capable of remedy..." By this phrase, the Government of Canada proposes to deprive all of its Eskimos and the one-half of its Indians who are not covered by treaty of their most valuable asset. This arbitrary policy statement repudiates legal principles recognized by the Spanish and British Crowns since the sixteenth century.

Indeed, the policy statement of Prime Minister Trudeau's Government of Canada prepares the ground for the biggest land grab of the second half of the twentieth century without compensation or due process. This would include most of the territory of British Columbia, the Yukon, and parts of the Northwest Territories. While Quebec has seemed obligated to give compensation for aboriginal rights to 456,000 square miles of territory surrendered by the Quebec Boundaries Extension Act of 1912, compensation after this 1969 statement would be an admission of the validity of aboriginal claims. Quebec could easily use the statement of the Trudeau Government as an escape from its statutory obligations already ignored for 57 years.

To establish an Indian Claims Commission with as broad a jurisdiction as the one now existing in the United States would undoubtedly result in considerable expense for Canada. Mr. Chrétien has raised serious doubts about its eventual creation. In the Statement on Indian Policy, he declared: "Consideration of the questions raised at the consultations and the review of Indian policy have raised serious doubts as to whether a Claims Commission as proposed to Parliament in 1965 is the right way to deal with the grievances of Indians put forward as claims." Concluding that "further study and research are required by both the Indians and the Government," he limits the scope of the study narrowly to "claims arising in respect of performance of the terms of treaties and agreements formally entered into by representatives of the Indians and the Crown, and the administration of moneys and lands pursuant to schemes established by legislation for the benefit of Indians..." In all probability, this rules out possible claims by more than one-half of Canada's aboriginal population.

On the very important question of Indian reserve lands, the Government's attitude towards land ownership is purely European. "Between the present system and the full holding of title in fee simple lie a number of intermediate steps." Rightly agreeing to do away with excessive governmental control over Indian lands, whatever the form of ownership, the Government stresses that full ownership "carries with it the free choice of use, retention or of disposition." However, the Government makes it clear to the Indians that the "only way they can own and fully control land is to accept taxation the way other Canadians do..." and assumes the Indians will make that decision. From experience in the

United States, it appears the formula for full control proposed by Mr. Chrétien would lead to the loss of the land base of the Indian communities and the breakup of reservations.

The National Indian Brotherhood of Canada has noted what is not included in the Government's policy statement:

History has shown us that the Indian people usually pay the highest cost when expansion and progress encroach on Indian lands. It gives us pause in considering the implications of the new policy on Indian lands when the proposed development of the Mid-Canada Corridor runs through the heart of what are presently Indian lands.

In this is summarized the history of the North American Indian. When native interests collide with expansionist plans of the white community, the natives are to be sacrificed.

Another point not included in the Government's statement is that the Provinces of Canada have long had full responsibility for providing services to nearly half the Indian population of Canada, i.e. the Métis, individuals who are of Indian ancestry but who never have had the status of registered or reserve Indians. While the reservation Indians of Canada under federal jurisdiction have received lamentably poor public services, the Métis have received even worse from the provinces. As Dave Courchene, President of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood and Vice-President of the National Indian Brotherhood, put it: "If what the federal government offers us is social and economic equality with the Métis population of this province, then the government has shown a tragic lack of understanding of both our aspirations and the conditions of existence of Métis people... there is not an Indian in Manitoba who would willingly choose the Métis alternative."

One of the basic reasons for the widespread resentment and distrust of the Government of Canada among Indians is that by various Indian Acts it has progressively substituted heavy-handed paternalism for tribal self-government on the reservations. The aims of integrating Indian communities with the larger Canadian community, of removing all legal distinctions in the name of equality, and of terminating federal responsibility by transferring to the provinces the duty to provide services on the same basis as to any other citizen merely means assimilation to the Indians.

This statement was made after Minister Jean Chrétien held a number of consultations with Indian leaders. Yet, it seems the Indian leadership was not heard. As the Statement of the National Indian Brotherhood declares: "At no time did the Indian people advocate the provinces take over the legal responsibilities of the Federal Government... We view this as a policy designed to divest us of our aboriginal, residual and statutory rights. If we accept this policy and in the process lose our rights and our lands, we become willing partners in cultural genocide. This we cannot do."

The "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy" issued on June 25 is not yet the law of the land. Not only are a vast majority of the Indians opposed to the new policy, but provincial leaders are also conscious of the fact that assumption of these responsibilities will mean additional financial problems for their hard-pressed administrations. Even if the opposition parties make a major issue out of Indian policy in Parliament, the Trudeau Government has a large majority and, if it chooses, can put the policy into operation. I would hope that the tragic lessons of termination in the United States during the Eisenhower years will be studied by the Government of Canada before the laws are enacted.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE MENOMINEES OF WISCONSIN

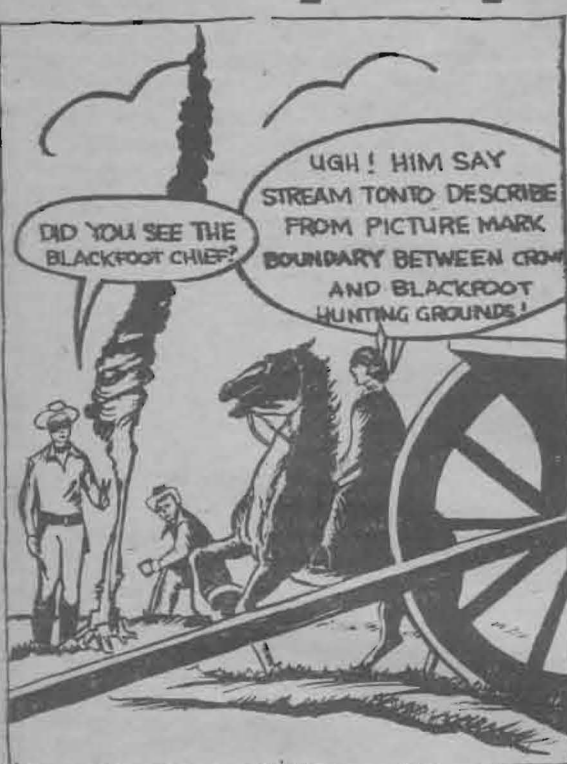
The Menominees of Wisconsin, for instance, whose termination began in 1954 and was completed in 1961, had a stable pattern of life which was destroyed. They owned a thriving tribally-run sawmill. They had a hospital and other community services; they had a fairly large tribal bank account. Then came termination, which made the Menominees citizens of Wisconsin and nothing more. The hospital had to close down because it didn't meet state standards; the tribal bank account was doled out to the Indians in per capita payments, which were

quickly dissipated. The sawmill became a corporation and floundered because of mismanagement, thereby no longer providing the Menominees with jobs. The Indians were supposed to become just like everyone else in Wisconsin, but today they still stand apart as among the poorest people in the State. Most of their land which was not taxable, when held in trust, has been sold at forced auctions to make up defaulted state property taxes.

This could be considered a Warning to the Indians of Canada.

Let's play Anglicans and Indians

13



THE LONE RANGER and Tonto were heroes of mine in childhood. I followed the adventures of the masked man and his faithful Indian companion on the radio and in the comics and cheered their exploits at the Saturday afternoon movies. I remember wanting to be the Lone Ranger when the kids around the neighbourhood played cowboys and Indians. I didn't like playing Tonto and sure resented it when I had to be one of the raiding Indians and get killed. It didn't occur to me, of course, that in my childhood fun and games I was building into

my system some very strong prejudices. **Uncle Tomahawk**

When you take a second look at the Lone Ranger adventures, you discover that Tonto is a kind of Uncle Tomahawk. He serves the great and good white man, and he turns on his 'blood-thirsty' Indian brothers. We who are whites might think it is all just fun and nobody is hurt. But in actual fact the Indians get mangled. Our understanding of our native brothers gets pushed out of shape by things like Lone Ranger cartoons, cowboys and Indians games, and

Hollywood movies where thousands of Indians always 'bite the dust.' The picture also gets distorted in our school history texts—not always by what the books say, but by what they don't say.

A New Game

Our Anglican church, back in 1965, decided to take a good look at relations with our native peoples. The Hendry Report was one result. General Synod in 1969 acted to implement the recommendations of that report and to give support to Indians as they try to break the buck-

skin barrier. We're now looking for ways to stop playing the good white cowboys and bad scalping Indians game and are trying to play a new game where Anglicans and Indians really meet as brothers. **Shatter the Tonto Picture**

We want to help people shatter the Tonto picture and see what contemporary Indians are like and what they are saying. And we want to let people know what the church is up to as she seeks to stand beside and assist her native brothers.

Your comments and reactions can be addressed to: R. S. Fellows, 600 Jarvis Street, Toronto 28J.

'White society is still sending out missionaries to tell Africans to cover up while whites at home are starting to walk around topless. The values a lot of whites are now discovering, like community cooperation, enjoyment of leisure, the recognition of individuality in its school system, and the fostering of non-competitiveness have been part of Indian culture.'

Duke Redbird

AM I A RACIST?

A racist is

- someone who thinks Indians are shiftless and lazy
- someone who thinks Chinese Canadians all own hand laundries or Cantonese restaurants
- someone who thinks Indians are a violent people

- someone who believes everyone in our society gets what he deserves
- someone who wonders if Eskimos ever take baths
- someone who thinks our country is already a land of equal justice
- someone who thinks that Indians can't hold their liquor

Racism is the attitude and behaviour of people who believe that persons of other races have different feelings and needs than they do and are inferior human beings. It is the fear of unknown people.

time to care

by Francie Miller

CANADIAN INDIANS are staunchly opposed to the new government's statement on Indian policy, according to Canon Trevor Jones, National and World Program Division staff member. From his contacts with Indians across the country, he has reached the conclusion that 'the average Indian feels the government is trying to infiltrate him into Canadian society and turn his skin white by denying him everything he holds sacred.'

Church members, suggests Canon Jones, can give support to the Indian cause by sending thoughtful letters to their members of parliament.

'Letters will do more than you think,' he says. 'When hundreds of informed, well-thought-out letters arrive on an M.P.'s desk, they can have a great impact.'

Canon Jones finds recent government budget cuts for Indian education and welfare difficult to understand. One casualty has been a kindergarten program for Indian children on reserves. This newly-developed program has been giving Indian youngsters a working knowledge of the English language before entering the first grade. Dropping this program has meant that many Indian children will once more be forced to enter the English-language school system knowing only their native tongues.

A copy of *Bulletin 201*, a compilation by the church of the opinions and reaction by the Indians to the Indian policy, was recently sent to all members of parliament to let them know what Indians are doing, thinking and saying. Individual copies of this publication may be obtained free from the Social Action Unit, 600 Jarvis Street, Toronto 28J.

From
Asia
with love

CANADA, with the second highest standard of living in the world, has just joined the list of countries receiving foreign charity dollars. Christians in East Asia, hearing of the plight of Canadian Indians and Eskimos in the Yukon, last month sent \$1,000.00 to the Indian-Eskimo Association to help alleviate poverty and suffering.

Harold Cardinal says that we seem to care more about our vanishing Canadian geese than we do about our rapidly growing native population!

The Hawthorn Report, commissioned by the Indian Affairs Branch in 1964 to survey the problems of Indian people, found that federal spending on Indians

was less than half that spent on other Canadians. The Report concluded 'we must expect it will cost hundreds of millions per annum to provide the Indians with the facilities and services needed to bring them up to white standards.'

Perhaps this charitable donation coming from Asia will prompt us to share more of our assistance and development dollars around home.

HOW NOT TO GO 'NATIVE'

The foster home program described below is mostly Mormon, a church centered in Salt Lake City, Utah. The substantial grant for "Indian education" from the Donner Foundation is for a Mormon University.

The Mormon Church believes Indians are the Lost Tribe of Israel. Its teachings refer to Indians as "Lamanites". Excerpts from these teachings are also on this page. It explains how Indians can once again become "white, a fair and delightsome color."

March 29, 1970

These families work their own Indian 'solution'

By WILLIAM B. SMART

S. I. ADVANCE-NORTH
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER ALLIANCE
SALT LAKE CITY, Utah—

On back-country reservations and in Congressional committee rooms, American's Indian policy faces its most vigorous attack since the misunderstanding at the Little Bighorn.

A century of federal paternalism has left the Indian "in a state of severe, grinding poverty," says the Senate Indian Education subcommittee, with the worst housing and health conditions, the highest unemployment and lowest family income in the nation.

The Indians are becoming aware of their plight. There's a new militancy on the reservation. Radicals in a recent meeting of the National Congress of American Indians shouted down Secretary of Interior Walter Hickel, told him to "go home" and labelled him a "white honky." The language of Red Power is almost indistinguishable from that of Black Power.

To some 4,500 white families, and as many Indian, mostly in the Western United States and Canada, the militance makes little sense. They have worked out their own quiet solution to the Indian problem.

It costs no tax dollars, only love and patience.

It requires no government bureaucracy.

It raises no issue of dependence versus freedom.

It works.

The solution is strikingly new, yet as old as the brotherhood of man. Each of those 4,500 families has voluntarily and at its own expense opened its home to an Indian child from the reservation and embraced the youngster as one of its own.

For nine months, during the school year, the Indian child shares the bathroom, the bicycle, the chores and the family arguments, as brothers and sisters share everywhere. During the summer months, he returns to his parents on the reservation. The dual role lets him keep the ties of his own heritage while absorbing the skills and cultural understanding necessary to make his way in a white man's world. There is no pay, no financial aid, to any of these 4,500 foster homes.

What does the program accomplish? That story has yet to be told. A substantial percentage of the students go on to college, many to the Mormon-operated Brigham Young University, which has some 800 Indians enrolled this year.

After completing college education, many return to their reservations to help their people.



Derl Tortice, a 13-year-old Apache from Arizona, is in his second year with the David Evans family in Salt Lake City where he shares all the fun—and the work too.

NANA Photo

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Mormons Get Fund For Indian Students



PUNCH, March 11 1970



"Let one missionary in, man, and next thing you know you got fifty salesmen doin' the follow-up."

Second-Class Mormons

According to ancient Egyptian papyri discovered in the wrappings of a mummy and interpreted by the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith, all black men are the cursed descendants of Cain. According to Mormon theology, therefore, it follows that blacks are unworthy to be priests of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or to enjoy the highest realms of heaven. Until the civil-rights movement of the 1960s, Mormon belief in the religious inferiority of Negroes rarely provoked any public interest. But once Mormon leader George Romney rose to national prominence, the church came under attack by civil-rights leaders.

Still, Mormon ruling elders repeatedly refused to elaborate publicly on their exclusion of blacks from the priesthood. But what political pressure could not accomplish, athletic pressure now apparently has. Last week it was revealed that, shortly after Stanford University announced it was dropping the teams of Mormon-sponsored Brigham Young University from its athletic schedule, the church's First Presidency issued an unusual defense of its position. In a letter to Mormon leaders, the presidency declared that "the seeming discrimination by the church toward the Negro is not something which originated with man, but goes back to the beginning with God." The church's racial restriction on its priesthood, they argued, "falls wholly within the category of religion."

There was small comfort in the letter for blacks. The elders did urge church members to "do their part as citizens" to see that the civil rights of blacks "are held inviolate." Quoting their 96-year-old president, David O. McKay, they even prophesied that "sometime in God's eternal plan, the Negro will be given the right to hold the priesthood." But that time will come, the letter made clear, only when "God reveals His will."

Newsweek

January 19, 1970

TEACHINGS OF THE BOOK OF MORMON
THE PROMISES TO THE LAMANITES

The Curse Upon the Lamanites.

The term Lamanite was first applied to the followers of Laman and Lemuel, his brothers, who rebelled against Nephi and his followers after reaching the Land of Promise. Later the term came to be applied to all who joined the descendants of Laman and Lemuel.

Notwithstanding Lehi's admonition the descendants of Laman and Lemuel and those who followed them did not obey the commandments of God. Of them Nephi writes that they were cut off from the presence of the Lord:

And he had caused the cursing to come upon them, yea, even a sore cursing, because of their iniquity. For behold, they had hardened their hearts against him, that they had become like unto a flint; wherefore, as they were white, and exceeding fair and delightsome, that they might not be enticing unto my people the Lord God did cause a skin of blackness to come upon them.

And thus saith the Lord God: I will cause that they shall be loathsome unto thy people, save they shall repent of their iniquities.

And cursed shall be the seed of him that mixeth with their seed; for they shall be cursed even with the same cursing. And the Lord spake it, and it was done.

And because of their cursing which was upon them they did become an idle people, full of mischief and subtlety, and did seek in the wilderness for beasts of prey.

And the Lord God said unto me:

They shall be a scourge unto thy seed, to stir them up in remembrance of me; and inasmuch as they will not remember me, and hearken unto my words, they shall scourge them even unto destruction.

The reason given for the dark skin, "that they might not be enticing" to the Nephite people is an interesting matter. It must not be supposed that the curse upon the Lamanites was the equivalent to the curse upon Cain and his descendants. There is no promise to the latter that their skin will become white, while that promise is given to the Lamanite when his generations shall accept the gospel.

While the curse is described here as a skin of blackness, Mormon implies that this darkened skin was of red color.

Further, the curse upon the Lamanites was not confined to any one period or to any one group of descendants. Whenever the Lamanites and those who mingled among them forgot God for a few generations their skins became darkened. Nephi saw in vision the generations upon the American continent after the coming of Christ in the flesh and wrote of his vision as follows:

And it came to pass that I beheld, after they had dwindled in unbelief they became a dark, and loathsome, and a filthy people, full of idleness and all manner of abominations.

The promise had been made by God that when the Lamanites should receive the records of the Nephites and should accept Christ,

And then they shall rejoice; for they shall know that it is a blessing unto them from the hand of God; and their scales of darkness shall begin to fall from their eyes; and many generations shall not pass away among them, save they shall be a white and delightsome people."

God's Word Verified.

Mormon records that those Lamanites who accepted the gospel and came to live among the Nephites were numbered among the Nephites.

And their curse, as taken from them, and their skin became white like unto the Nephites;

And their young men and their daughters became exceedingly fair, and they were numbered among the Nephites, and were called Nephites, . . ."

Two grants totaling \$85,000 have been awarded to Brigham Young University by the Wm. H. Donner Foundation of New York for the development of programs assisting American Indian students.

The largest grant, totaling \$60,000 was allocated for Indian leadership development and the other for \$25,000 is earmarked for a program in Indian orientation in preparation for college work.

The grants were awarded to BYU because of the school's outstanding established program of Indian Education. There are over 300 Indians on BYU campus this year, representing 64 tribes, coming from 27 states and 7 countries. BYU officials expect the Indian enrollment to reach 1000 within several years.

BYU was notified of the gift by Dr. Franklyn Johnson, president of the Foundation, who has achieved eminence as an author, lecturer, university president, and former director of the Job Corps. Dr. Johnson said he considers the BYU Indian program one of the finest in the nation.

The orientation funds will be used to finance a pilot six-week session next summer to prepare BYU-bound Indian men and women for higher education in modern American society.

Lester B. Whetten, dean of the BYU General College which supervises Indian education, said the Indian's main problem is that his higher education must be undertaken in modern American society—off the reservation, and this involves a major cultural adjustment.

Indians, most of whom are almost totally unprepared for university life, are sometimes overwhelmed by their first campus experience. Once classwork begins, many Indian students are plagued by feelings of inferiority, poor study habits, difficulty in understanding assignments, and low tolerance to pressure.

Dean Whetten pointed out, however, that BYU has reduced the dropout rate from 56 percent to 13.5 percent in 5 years, but more progress is expected through better pre-college orientation to the white man's complicated world.

The Donner gifts will help pay Indian student' room and board on campus while they receive ability tests, select majors, take field trips to business firms and industries, take precollege review courses, learn new study habits and build self-confidence.

The companion gift for developing Indian leadership aims at another of the Indian's most serious problems. The goal will be to help college students become truly professional in their chosen fields; help each one attain the highest economic and social position his abilities will permit; and stress the value of master's and doctor's degrees.

Successful Indian students, who have finished their schooling are encouraged to return to their people to help others achieve success.

Dean Whetten said too many with degrees return to their reservations to accept menial or clerical jobs. Indian students need special programs to motivate them to attain highest academic and professional degrees — physician, dentist, psychiatrist, engineer, master of social work, etc. Dr. Arturo DeHoyos will supervise the leadership program.

2 Initiated Into Mohawk Nation, But With Reservations

MASSENA — Two persons were initiated as "honorary" Mohawk Indians Friday, but with reservations on the part of many leaders and rank file members of the Mohawk Nation.

Rev. Joseph S. McBride, S. J., vice postulator of the Tekakwitha League, Buffalo, and Mrs. Mary Eunice Spagnola, Belford, N.J., were initiated at St. Regis Friday afternoon.

The initiation was conducted by Chief Peter Gorrow and "princess" Ester Phillips on the grounds of the rectory of the historic St. Regis Church on the banks of the St. Lawrence River.

Rev. Father McBride and Mrs. Spagnola, who uses the pen name, "Mary Eunice," were accorded the honor through Rev. Michael Jacobs, S. J., St. Regis, because of their interest in Kateri Tekakwitha, a North American Indian of the Iroquois nation who has been presented for sainthood.

Rev. Father McBride was given an Indian name that means, "he who leads people to the blue skies — heaven." Mrs. Spagnola was given the translated name, "The princess who makes the name of Kateri known, praised and loved."

The Indian name given to Father McBride was "Chief Karonhio" and to Mrs. Spagnola "Princess Kateri Kaseniliostha."

Protest "Mockery"
The Indians of the Mohawk nation, who are non-Catholic, quietly presented to Rev. Fa-

ther McBride and Mrs. Spagnola a memorandum explaining that for a Catholic priest to accept anyone into the Mohawk nation "makes a mockery of that nation."

The full statement given to the two was from the chiefs and clan mothers of the Mohawks and said, in part:

"The Mohawk nation is one of those which makes up the Iroquois confederacy brought together many centuries ago by a great law of peace.

"That Mohawk nation still lives today and is governed according to that great law, a law upon which the constitution of the United States is based. Our elders still council for the future, for the generations of Mohawk children not yet born.

"It is therefore a great surprise to us that Rev. Joseph S. McBride, S. J., vice postulator of the Tekakwitha League of Buffalo and Mary Eunice of Mary Productions, Belford, N.Y. are to be made members of the 'Mohawk Tribe' by Rev. Michael Jacobs, a missionary who once was a member of the Mohawk Nation.

"The two believe they are being honored and the general public should know that Rev. Michael Jacobs has not authority to adopt anyone beyond the doors of his church and that such false events make a mockery of our nation. If, in fact, these two do honor and respect the Mohawk Nation, they will not participate in false ceremonies.

"We remind all people that we are not a 'tribe' and a

"band" but we are a nation and our people are citizens of our Mohawk Nation and of no other country.

Play Criticized

"To Sister Mary Eunice in particular, we suggest that if you have in fact done research and have grown to respect the Mohawk Nation, that you immediately withdraw your one-act play, 'Maid of the Mohawks.'"

"In that play you refer to us as 'pagans.' You put words in the mouths of our people like 'If only we had some prisoners to roast at the stake. It would be good sport and keep us warm too' and 'If we could find some Christian dogs, they would burn well.' You call our women 'squaw.' The pages are filled with untruths.

"We remind you that you had a Joan of Arc who was burned at the stake by her own people before Columbus came to this continent and that many of our people died at the hands of your French and Spanish missionaries because we believed in freedom of religion.

"We have read the message from the second Vatican council about the way your church would get along with people who are not Christians. We were told there is good in all religions and we should work toward brotherhood and peace. We ask you if you truly respect and honor the Mohawk nation, refuse to participate in this mockery of an adoption and, instead, announce to us your play will never be performed."

Letter Circulated

A one page letter circulated through both the Canadian and American sides of the reservation during the past week and signed by Joanne N. Reyome, a resident of Hogsburg and a student at Potsdam State University College, said: "The whole event is hypocritical for Rev. Father Jacobs is against anything that has to do with Indian culture. For 20 years or so the clan system has been ignored for the Indian here, although the Scottish, the Irish and the English are allowed to use their clan system with no re-

ligious penalties. Indian dances, names, dress and government have been declared pagan. Thus, to put on an adoption ceremony with traditional dancing is to put on a sham."

She also noted that the use of the word chief as a title is incorrect.

"There are nine and only nine chiefs. Non-Indians use the word chief as handle, as part of the stereotype of an Indian, but the use of it in such a manner only shows ignorance," she declared.

It was also noted there is no such title as "princess" among the Mohawks or in the confederacy.

The Second Vatican Council

RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

2. From ancient times down to the present, there has existed among divers peoples a certain perception of the hidden power that hovers over the course of things and over the events of human life; at times, indeed, recognition can be found of a Supreme Divinity, and of a Supreme Father, too. Such a perception and such a recognition instill the lives of these peoples with a profound religious sense. Religions bound up with cultural advancement have struggled to reply to these questions with more refined concepts and in more highly developed language.

Thus, in Hinduism men contemplate the divine mystery and express it through an inexhaustible fruitfulness of myths and a searching philosophical inquiry.⁷ They seek release from the anguish of our condition through ascetical practices or deep meditation or a loving, trusting flight toward God.

Buddhism in its multiple forms acknowledges the radical insufficiency of this shifting world.⁸ It teaches a path by which men, in a devout and confident spirit, can either reach a state of absolute freedom or attain supreme enlightenment by their own efforts or by higher assistance.

Likewise, other religions to be found everywhere⁹ strive variously to answer the restless searchings of the human heart¹⁰ by proposing "ways," which consist of teachings, rules of life and sacred ceremonies.

KEEP WHAT IS TRUE

The Catholic Church rejects nothing that is true and holy in these religions.¹¹ She looks with sincere respect upon those ways of conduct and of life, those rules and teachings which, though differing in many particulars from what she holds and sets forth, nevertheless often reflect a ray of the Truth that enlightens all men. Indeed, she proclaims and must ever proclaim Christ, *the way, the truth and the life* (Jn. 14:6), in whom men find the fullness of religious life, and in whom God has reconciled all things to Himself (cf. 2 Cor. 5:18-19).

The Church therefore has this exhortation for her sons: prudently and lovingly,¹² through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, and in witness of Christian faith and life, acknowledge, preserve and promote the spiritual and moral goods found among these men, as well as the values in their society and culture.

NO RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION

As a consequence, the Church rejects,¹³ as foreign to the mind of Christ, any discrimination against men or harassment of them because of their race, color, condition of life or religion.

Rome, at St. Peter's, October 28, 1965

I, Paul, Bishop of the Catholic Church

There follow the signatures of the Fathers.

Maid of the Mohawks

By Mary Eunice of Mary Productions

(EXCERPTS) ONE ACT PLAY

NARRATOR

This is the story of Kateri Tekakwitha, a North American Indian, the first of that great and sorely tried human family to be presented to the Sacred Congregation of Rites as a candidate for the honors of the altar for sainthood.

She belonged to the nation of the Iroquois, well known for their warlike unrest in the history of the colonization of North America. She was a member of the great and fearless Mohawk tribe, who lived in upper New York State.

Kateri's mother, a member of the Algonquin tribe and a Christian had been taken a prisoner of war, but was fortunate to win the affections of one of the Chiefs of the Mohawks, a pagan, who finally married her.

ARSEN: We might have to burn our blankets to keep the fire going.
TEKAKWITHA: Maybe the Braves will come home from the war soon.
ARSEN: No, Tekakwitha, Mohawks never ask for peace. We fight and if the enemies want blood... let us give it to them!
KARITHA: (Blowing on hands to keep warm) My hands are so cold! If only we had some prisoners to roast at the stake. It would be good sport and keep us warm too.
ARSEN: It has been many moons since we have had such fun. If we could find some Christian dogs, they would burn well.

TEKAKWITHA: But there have been many times when I displeased Him.
MARY-TERESA: You never denied Him as I did. Let me tell you my story. After my Baptism, I soon forgot about God. I denied Him for fear of what others would say about my being a Christian. Once my husband and some others were on a hunting party... but we could find no food. We were all starving to death... several died and my husband too. Two of our braves went hunting. One came back well fed and we knew he must have eaten his companion. The others in the party asked me if it were not right to eat the weakest in our group. They knew I was a Christian. Many eyes were upon me, and I knew that soon I would be next. Suddenly, by the Grace of God, there was an animal to kill and I was saved. God had sent an Angel to protect me. When I left for the Mission and found a Blackrobe to hear my confession, I vowed to do penance always to make up for my sins. So you see what a poor creature I am.

11. This paragraph presents an understanding that is traditional in the Catholic Church. One recalls, for example, Justin Martyr in the early Church attributing all the truths in non-Christian religions to the Word of God that enlightens every man who enters into this world—a concept found at the beginning of St. John's Gospel. Through the centuries, however, missionaries often concluded that non-Christian religions are simply the work of Satan and that the missionaries' task is to convert from error to knowledge of the truth. This Declaration marks an authoritative change in approach. Now, for the first time, there is recognition of other religions as entities with which the Church can and should enter into dialogue.

12. The Declaration gives a good example of prudence in putting aside, for the moment, elements in non-Christian religions that are repugnant to Christians (idolatry, etc.), in order to focus on the spiritual and moral goods. Also, there is here no undignified breast-beating, no protestation that Catholics were not responsible for unfortunate episodes in history, no exaggerated emotionalism—all of which would not have provided a good basis for persevering in dialogue.

Young Indians' Feelings Are Pride And Grit

Indians Say Assembly Bill Tries To Curb Their Voting Rights

Watertown Daily Times
Watertown, N. Y.
March 26, 1970

Pride, determination and the attitude that nothing can stop them now... these are feelings of today's Indian youth, according to one Cornwall student who attended an Indian workshop in Toronto last weekend.

"Communication is what we need most now," said Nona Benedict, 18, of Cornwall Island. "I have a list of 15 or 20 people who want me to write. Many Indians living in the city want more contact with the reserves."

Nona was one of 50 Indian students from Ontario, aged 18 to 24, who met from Jan. 30 to Feb. 1 at the Canadian Indian Centre, a cozy, two-storey house in the centre of Toronto.

"They talked about some very serious things," said Ernie Benedict, her uncle, who went as a resource person.

With Indian culture fading rapidly, says Nona, this may be the last generation which has a chance of keeping it alive, and they're determined not to let it slip away.

There was talk of setting up a communications centre somewhere, with full-time staff to handle the exchange of information flowing in from all parts of Ontario. "We keep up each other's morale," said Nona.

She said the Toronto Indians often talk of being surrounded by the white man's world. "We can't escape it," they would say.

And so plans were also discussed of setting up a summer bush camp, where the Indian youth can spend a few weeks reminding himself of his past.

HER TRIBE
Nona said she met one girl in her 20s who had discovered only a few weeks ago what tribe she originated from. "That's really sad," she commented.

This was the first workshop in Ontario operated by Indians, said Mr. Benedict. Out of it grew a vague, yet strong



NONA BENEDICT

desire to renew Indian culture by means of more such workshops, he said. The next one will be held in Geraldton at Easter.

The students talked politics, religion, alcoholism and integration with the white man. Mr. Benedict said most of them want to serve their own reserve communities after they finish school.

Surprisingly, he said, the talk was rarely militant. "Only on the topic of religion did the discussion get hot."

Historically, he explained, there's an urge among Indians to be religious. Criticism of the modern church is strong, because they tend to identify all white men as Christians.

"And so they ask why clergy men preach against liquor while other white men bring it to the Indian to sell."

"The clergymen also look on Indian deities as false gods, yet what the Indian sees ruling children in complete contrast to white men's lives is money," said Mr. Benedict.

(Special To The Times)
ALBANY — A bill which Indians in New York State charge is unconstitutional, contradicts a 1969 U.S. Supreme Court decision, and is a deliberate effort to curb their voting rights especially in school district elections has passed the assembly.

The fight to retain voting rights granted to them by the legislature and the governor last May is being led by the St. Regis Indians of Hogansburg through their attorney, Dr. Omar Z. Ghobashy of New York, who is also representing the Six Nation Confederacy.

In a letter to Lewis Stone, a counsel to Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller in Albany, Dr. Ghobashy declared the bill made an "unconstitutional distinction" between Indians born in the United States and "naturalized" Indians.

"It gives a right to vote to an Indian born in the U.S.A. but is a citizen of the U.S.A., for example, an Indian who is a citizen through one or both parents, by adoption, by naturalization as a result of service in the Armed Forces in the U.S.A. or regular naturalization, through marriage to a citizen spouse or regular residence."

"It imposes a restriction as to who is a member of an Indian tribe and by whom the determination is to be made. The tribe makes the determination at present," Dr. Ghobashy said.

The attorney charged also that the bill "deliberately" eliminated requirements in the Pisani measure passed by the legislature last year that an "Indian is not to be deemed ineligible to vote because of his property or tribal status."

"This deletion," he continued, "is to disqualify Indians who are not parents of school children in complete contradiction of the Kramer case."

On June 18, 1969, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Morris H. Kramer of Long Island was unconstitutionally restricted from voting in a school election because he had no children, lived with his parents, and paid no taxes.

The measure introduced by Assemblyman Lloyd Russell of East Otto, Cattaraugus County, according to Dr. Ghobashy, was offered at the recommendation of the State Education Commissioner Ewald B. Nyquist.

"It will be argued by the Commissioner," Dr. Ghobashy said, "that because of the tax exempt status of their property, Indians who are not parents are excluded from vote. Parents may be excluded because of the property status. With regard to other voters, the requirement is 'a citizen of the U.S. while the requirement for an Indian is 'born in the U.S. to a member of an Indian tribe.'"

The attorney also said Mr. Nyquist ignored the purpose of the Pisani bill — "to enfranchise all Indians."

The most serious matter in the Russell bill, Dr. Ghobashy told Mr. Stone, was that it "gave the power to the Commissioner to determine where the majority of the Indian children are being educated."

"The Commissioner cannot preserve to himself the power to determine who is an Indian, born in the U.S.A. to an Indian tribe where the majority of Indians are educated and where the Indian should vote," Dr. Ghobashy said.

State Says Indians Will Not Have Voting Right on Board

(Special To The Times)
ALBANY — Do the St. Regis Indians at Hogansburg have voting representation on the Salmon River Central School Board, or any representation? Apparently not, according to a letter from the State Education Department to the U.S. Court of Appeals, New York City.

On March 17 the school board passed a resolution expanding the board from seven to nine members and filling the two posts with individuals from the Indian reservation. The action was subject to approval of the State Education Department.

The decision to expand the board and to name two Indians on it came as the result of an appeal brought by the St. Regis tribe before the three-man federal court. The school board's attorney had pledged to the court that the board would be expanded. The court, it is understood, was waiting to see what action Salmon River board took, before making any decision.

The Indians, who based their case on the contention they were unconstitutionally deprived of the right to representation, may be given the right to sit on the board as "non-voting" members provided the expansion is approved by State Education Commissioner Ewald B. Nyquist.

The department, through its attorney, John P. Jehu, has argued that under State Education Law a school board may be expanded only at an annual meeting by a majority vote of the qualified voters present and voting. The Indians maintain that under the U.S. Supreme Court one-man, one-vote rule, they are entitled to at least two members on the board and perhaps three.

Procedures

Mr. Jehu cited procedures which must be followed under state law including notice of election stating the propositions to be acted upon. Furthermore, the members to be elected, if approved by vote on the proposition will be chosen at a special meeting to be held "not less than 30 nor more than 60 days following the annual meeting."

"It is obvious that in the face of this very specific statute which has been construed by judicial decision of the Commissioner of Education on various occasions, the Commissioner of Education not in a position to approve such resolution," Mr. Jehu told the court.

"The best the Commissioner of Education could do in this respect," he continued, "would be to approve the said resolution with modifications which would specify that the resolution is approved to the extent that the two persons mentioned in the resolution are placed on the Board of Education solely for the purpose of being present at all board meetings with the right to speak on all matters before the board but without the right to vote; that the board submit and notice for and to the annual meeting of the Salmon River District on May 5, 1970, the proposition to increase the number of members of the board from seven

to nine and that if said proposition is carried at that time that the two persons mentioned in the resolution be nominated for the two vacancies created by the vote of the annual meeting."

"The Commissioner of Education can not, of course, guarantee that the voters of

the district will adopt such a proposition, nor can he guarantee that the voters of the district at the ensuing special meeting will not nominate other persons and will not elect such other persons in preference to the two persons named in said board resolution," the attorney declared.

Use of Chemicals To Maintain Border Vista Alarms

MASSENA — Mohawks of the St. Regis Indian Reservation near Massena have expressed alarm over news stories indicating the international boundary commission intends to use chemical brush killers to maintain a 20 foot wide boundary vista in wooded sections of the reservation.

The Indian people are especially interested in the section near the Snye, where a great deal of muskrat trapping and fishing is done.

Ernest Benedict, one of the Mohawk leaders, said chemicals finding their way down the watershed from this international line might destroy much wildlife.

Treaties Cited

The Indian people have treaties with the United States and Canada which say the boundary line shall not pass through the reservation and they resent the 20-foot marker.

Questioned about the "announcement" that the boundary commission would cut a 20-foot wide boundary vista between the two countries, the United States section in Washington, replied as follows:

"The American section of the International Boundary Commission, United States and Canada, has received a number of inquiries concerning use of chemical brush killers to maintain a 20-foot wide boundary vista in the wooded section.

"Under provisions of a 1925 treaty between the United States and Great Britain, in

respect of Canada, the International Boundary Commission is to keep the boundary vistas open and maintain, in an effective state of demarcation, the boundary between the United States and Canada. These vistas, or open areas 20 feet wide, ten feet in each country, are in wooded sections and were cut years ago, starting in 1842.

"Maintenance of this boundary dates back to 1873 as the boundary line had already been established, defined, marked by monuments and vistas cut in accordance with earlier treaties, such as the Webster Ashburton Treaty of 1842, the Treaty of 1846 between United States and Great Britain, The Alaska Boundary Tribunal of 1903 and others.

Chemicals Used

"Tordon 101, or Picloram, is a chemical used in various strengths to control this undesired brush growth. It is also used by utility companies, railroads, highway departments and nursery and forestry bureaus throughout the United States and Canada. Tordon 101 is specifically approved for spraying rights-of-way by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Any damaging effect of Picloram to fish and wildlife has yet to be ascertained by scientists. This commission does not spray any chemicals into streams and the amount that might wash in from what is sprayed in the limited area of the boundary vista is considered negligible.

Paleo-Indian Man Here Over 12,000 Years Ago

ALBANY, N.Y. (UPI)—The existence of the Paleo-Indian man in New York State more than 12,000 years ago has been confirmed by scientists of the New York State Museum and Science Service. In announcing the findings Tuesday night, the State Education Department termed the discovery "one of the most significant archeological findings in the eastern half of the United States in recent years."

Excavated fossil bones found near Middletown in Orange County link moose-elk caribou with the earliest known human inhabitants of this state. Scientists said the finding during a search in the Dutchess Quarry Cave associated a fluted point with fos-

silized caribou bones. The carbon dating technique establishes the caribou lived in the area about 10,580 B.C., plus or minus 370 years.

The fluted point is a chipped stone projectile used by the Paleo-Indian. Although fossilized caribou have been reported from Orange County previously, none has been found with human remains. The bones of the caribou, officials said, appear to have been cracked open to extract the marrow in the manner of many primitive hunters.

Archeologist Robert Funk said the Paleo-Indian man came southeastward into New York through Alaska and Canada.

Cease-Fire Reached In Battle for Island

MASSENA—The battle of Stanley Island in the St. Lawrence River near Lancaster, Ont., has reached a cease-fire this week.

The attorney for the present lessee of the controversial island, Joseph Rouleau, is hospitalized and not expected to be back at his desk for several weeks. Mr. Rouleau represents the mayor of Alexandria, Jean Paul Touchette, who holds, or thinks he holds, a lease for the island.

The Indians of the St. Regis Reserve have petitioned the government of Canada for return of the island and the economic development branch of the Bureau of Indian and Eskimo Affairs has told the tribe the island is theirs.

History of the leasing of Stanley Island is still obscure at this point, but it appears that Charles Shields of Bombay, now living in Florida, originally leased the island for \$6 a year from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Subsequently, 14 summer cottages were built on the island and the owners paid yearly rent of \$150 to \$200 to Mr. Shields. A few years ago, he sold his lease to Mr. Touchette, who spent a reported \$300,000 on a three-hole golf course on the is-

land. Before leaving for the hospital, Attorney Rouleau said he had met with the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa and will negotiate with the St. Regis Indians.

The cottagers were originally given 15 days to show proof that they have permission from the Bureau to stay on the island, but Mr. Rouleau said he had received an "indefinite delay" from the Bureau in order to proceed with negotiations with the Indians.



Oil in the Yukon—Old Crow Natives want a slice of the action

The GAZETTE, Montreal,

Mar. 18, 1970

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By GORDON PAPE

NATAGNAK, N.W.T. — (Gazette) — Sometime within the next two months Canadians may find out whether the Arctic is about to yield an oil bonanza.

At this bleak, windswept site on the Tuktoyaktuk peninsula, some 115 miles north-east of Inuvik, Imperial Oil Ltd. has started drilling operations on a well that could confirm an oil boom that will change the face of Arctic Canada forever.

The oil companies, who have already invested millions in exploration, stand to be repaid hundreds of times over if a Canadian version of Prudhoe Bay is found.

The federal government and the territorial governments in the Yukon and Northwest Territories will reap substantial royalties if oil flows to markets.

White workers from southern Canada, who are willing to live in the Arctic for a year or two, will come out with their pockets bulging with cash — a member of a drilling crew, for instance, can earn \$12,000 a year and up, plus free room and board.

But what about the Indians, Eskimos, and Metis who make up the majority of the population in the Territories? At the moment, there is talk of finding jobs for many of them in the exploration and drilling operations but few actually have such employment.

Except for those few who do land jobs with the oil companies, the natives of the north seemed doomed to stand back and watch while fortunes are made all around them.

COPE has been founded to attempt to prevent that from happening.

The initials stand for the Committee for Original People's Entitlement. The organization was set up last month by Agnes Semmler of Inuvik, a Metis woman whose exploits have already made her a legendary figure in the Arctic.

COPE's avowed purpose is to force the white man, either through political or legal action, to hand over a whopping share of the royalties from Arctic oil to the native people, in this case including anyone with Indian, Eskimo or Metis blood, to the fourth generation, and any white person who marries a native northerner.

The whole scheme really amounts to a sort of super lottery. COPE intends to recruit membership among all the estimated 23,000 qualified people in the Northwest Territories. Dues will be charged on the basis of \$3 for an individual and \$5 for a family.

The come-on for joining is the hope that the courts or the federal government will decide to fork over several hundred million dollars to be divided among native people as their share of the oil boom.

Up to now, COPE hasn't gotten very far. There have been two rather poorly attended meetings in Inuvik and Mrs. Semmler got tossed out of a meeting of the Native Brotherhood in Yellowknife when she attempted to do some recruiting there.

FORMULATION STAGE

But the idea is still in the formulation stage and Mrs. Semmler and her followers

are confident it will take hold among the native people.

Their confidence is not without some basis.

In Alaska, representatives of the native peoples have launched a court case against the United States government, claiming \$550,000,000 and two per cent of all oil royalties as compensation to the original inhabitants of the state.

The Alaska case is receiving increasing attention in the Northwest Territories, and COPE is showing every indication of wanting to follow the same pattern in its efforts to obtain compensation.

HOT-SHOT LAWYER

The fledgling organization has retained hot-shot Yellowknife lawyer Brian Purdy — the man who upset the whole legal scene in Canada with his successful fight in the Drybones case — as legal counsel. Purdy has already begun research into the legal grounds on which a court case might be launched — a case which, on the surface, looks almost as hopeless as the Drybones fight but which Purdy confidently feels can be won.

(In the Drybones case, the Supreme Court of Canada last November applied the Bill of Rights for the first time).

The Yellowknife lawyer has already mapped out three main areas of attack.

He believes that the rights of all treaty Indians in the Territories to compensation can be established on the basis of Treaty 11, signed in 1921, which provided for a specific grant of land to the Indians which the government never made.

He also intends to rely heavily on the 1763 Royal Proclamation of King George III, which has been recognized as having the effect of a Statute of Canada by the Supreme Court. The proclamation gave extensive lands to the Indians and, although the British Columbia Supreme Court in a 1969 decision refused to recognize it as applying in the west — which was terra incognita at that time, Purdy believes the final legal word on the subject has not yet been said.

Finally, he will base his case on Aboriginal rights as they may exist in common law — a sort of application of the principle of squatter's rights to the Indians and Eskimos.

Purdy, and most of the other people connected with COPE, believe the only way to obtain any compensation will be through legal action. The organization will also function on a political level but no one holds out much hope of reaching a negotiated settlement on the question with the federal government.

"Both Northern Development Minister Chretien and Prime Minister Trudeau have made speeches stating they don't recognize Aboriginal rights," he says. "When they adopt that stance, how much co-operation can we expect?"

COPE is aiming high. Purdy points out that the Canadian government is spending on the order of \$360,000,000 a year on foreign aid and suggests it wouldn't be out of line to make a one-shot settlement of a like amount with the northern natives.

Invested at five per cent interest, that would produce annual revenue of \$18,000,000.

"You'll have ended your native problem and you'll

have put an end to all the government welfare programs for these people that now exist," he says.

Purdy and COPE organizers hope to sign up 10,000 members by the end of 1970. Once the organization represents that many native northerners, a court action can be launched, he says.

It all sounds pretty far-fetched. But the smell of oil is causing strange stirrings in the north and COPE is just one more manifestation of the changes that are emerging.

OLD CROW, The Yukon (Gazette) — They call this the most isolated settlement in Canada — and with good reason.

Even a powerful radio receiver can pick up nothing but Radio Moscow, booming in over the North Pole. All broadcasts from Alaska and Canada are cut off by the mountain ranges which surround the community.

The 170 Loucheux Indians living here had never seen a car until two weeks ago when a Toyota station wagon made the 300-mile trip from Mayo along a newly-built winter road and across the ice of the Porcupine River. Some of the children thought the Toyota was a train.

The ten adult whites who inhabit the settlements — teachers, nurse, priest and RCMP constables — are rotated every year or, at the most, every two years. Those who stay longer often collapse under the strain of isolation. An Anglican minister who has been in Old Crow for three years had to be flown out last summer after he suffered a nervous breakdown.

There are no newspapers, no television, no movie theatres, no bars.

Visitors are a rarity. Great Northern Airways flies a lumbering DC-3 into the community twice a week, landing on a makeshift runway on the river ice. But it usually

Redeye



Job training planned

By BEN TIERNEY

OTTAWA — (Gazette) — The first step toward getting Indians, Metis and Eskimos involved in northern oil exploration has been taken by the federal government.

Government officials have held one meeting with officials of Panarctic Oils Ltd. — in which the government has a 45 per cent equity — in an attempt to work out an agreement covering the employment and training of natives. The meeting accomplished little more than a setting out of the problems involved, but it is expected to be the first in a series that

brings only freight and mail, rarely people.

For the Loucheux tribe, life has changed little over the years. There is a school, which has brought education to the community, and two churches, Anglican and Roman Catholic.

One of the tribe, Edith Jose, has achieved a measure of fame in The Yukon and Alberta with her "Here Are The News" column of social events in Old Crow.

LITTLE CHANGE

But the life style has varied little through the years. Muskrat trapping is still the chief source of revenue for the people, and even officialdom in far-away Whitehorse has recognized its importance. As a result, the local school has been allowed to take its summer recess from April 15 to July 1, in order that children can accompany their parents when the time comes to go out to set the traplines.

Many of the older Loucheux still speak only their own tongue and understand no English. Their homes are clean, tidy one-room log cabins, each with an old woman sitting on a bed, husky dogs tied at the back, bright-eyed, attractively children playing in front, and pictures of saints on the walls.

Welfare is almost unknown. The Loucheux are a proud, self-sufficient people, who ask nothing from anyone else.

In many ways, Old Crow is almost unique in modern Canada. But now everything is about to change. The full impact of white man's civilization, for good or bad, is about to descend upon this isolated settlement.

Already there are signs of change.

RCMP MODERNIZED

The local RCMP station finally abandoned its dog teams in favor of snowmobiles this year and now the raucu-

ous clatter of Ski-Doos disturbs the frigid peace of the community.

A permanent airstrip is to be built on the banks of the Porcupine this summer. There is talk of setting up a mountain-top antenna that could pull in radio signals from Dawson or Inuvik. The new winter road is already bringing trucks and men into the region.

The reason for all this activity is oil.

The Old Crow flats north-east of the settlement are geologically similar to the area around Alaska's Prudhoe Bay. Preliminary seismic studies have encouraged Northern Oil Explorers Ltd. to believe that the outlook is favorable enough to launch more extensive exploratory operations in the region.

A meeting was held in Old Crow on Jan. 23 between residents of the community and representatives of Northern Oil Explorers; Globe Universal Sciences, its geophysical contractor; The Canadian Wildlife Service; and the Northern Economic Development branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Agreement was reached to allow the exploration program to go ahead — on the strict stipulation that the muskrat population of the region in no way be disturbed. Old Crow might be on the verge of an economic breakthrough but the canny Loucheux are taking no chances.

The Indians themselves do not stand to benefit directly from any oil finds that might be made in Old Crow flats. The area is considered Crown land; they are non-treaty Indians so none of it belongs to them.

But they do expect to get jobs on the project that will pay more than muskrat trapping brings in. Already five Loucheux are being employed by the survey firm. They also expect their settlement to

become a jumping off point for the region — a development which would bring more cash flowing into Old Crow than the Loucheux have ever seen before.

So they agreed to support the oil exploration project.

The winter road was driven through and operations began in early February. If the results are optimistic, the next step could be wildcat drilling. And after that, anything is possible.

That Old Crow has suddenly taken on a new importance was vividly demonstrated to the Loucheux people last

week. The settlement's new school — the old one was destroyed by fire a year ago — was officially opened.

In for the ceremonies flew Northern Development Minister Jean Chretien, Yukon Commissioner James Smith, two MPs — Erik Nielsen of the Yukon and Barney Danson of Toronto — a CBC television crew, and representatives of eastern Canadian newspapers which the Loucheux had never even heard of.

It was probably the biggest day ever in Old Crow. The Indians chose to celebrate it with a great feast. But when the resident whites suggested during the planning for the event that the Loucheux serve their traditional dishes of caribou meat and moose nose soup, the Indians refused.

The visitors would be displeased, they said. Nothing would do but roast beef, flown in all the way from Whitehorse.

It was the clearest possible demonstration that the Loucheux no longer consider the old ways acceptable.

Old Crow will never be the same again.

WEDNESDAY MAR 18 1970

Ottawa moves to involve natives

will lead eventually to a substantial number of natives being employed, not only in the operations of Panarctic, but other oil companies at work in the north as well.

Fully developed, such a program would dovetail with the government's existing training program for natives in other industries, begun last year with the signing of agreements between the government and Okanagan Helicopters and Cominco Ltd.

Okanagan, in a program that began last November, agreed to train young Eskimos in aviation mechanics, and eventually to pilot both fixed wing aircraft and helicopters in the north.

Two of the three young Eskimos chosen for the first stage of the program are still involved.

Cominco's agreement with the government covers its Pine Point Mines operations and commits the company to create and maintain six training positions for native workers.

These positions are expected to produce anywhere from 12 to 24 trained native workers a year, since the period of time each native worker would spend in the training position before being absorbed into the company's work force would be three to six months.

The Cominco agreement, involving the United Steel

workers of America as well as the company, was worked out after a government survey of the mining industry in both the Northwest Territories and the Yukon showed an abysmally low employment among the natives.

Of 1,182 workers employed in mining in the N.W.T., only 63 — or 5.3 per cent — were natives. In the Yukon, only 28 natives were employed out of a total of 820 workers — 3.4 per cent.

In its approach to native training in the oil industry, the government feels it may well have to take a totally different from the training position type of approach adopted in other industries

Generation gap creates dissension in isolated Indian settlements

By RUDY PLATIEL
Globe and Mail Reporter

SANDY LAKE — The tall, thin 17-year-old Indian lay moaning on the white sheets of the bed in the settlement's nursing station.

"Nobody cares—nobody understands us—we are neither white men nor Indians any more," he muttered to Yvonne Knipe, a 32-year-old New Zealand-born nurse, who related the incident later.

The Indian youth, she said, had been brought into the station unconscious from hysteria—the culmination of a continuing dispute with the Indian council and older relatives that ended with him being constantly shadowed by a council-appointed "constable"—who was also his uncle.

The youth had been accused of raping a girl in the settlement. He then printed the names of council members on shotgun shells and wore them in his belt. He was brought to the council hall and held for 12 hours before being released.

Although the dispute and the youth's lapse into a catatonic state is an individual case, it is part of a growing social crisis that is plaguing some isolated Indian settlements in the remote Kenora District of Northern Ontario and appears inevitably in store for others not yet touched by it.

The generation gap is reaching into isolated Indian settlements as teen-age Indians, many of who return as high school dropouts after a taste of life in the outside world, find it hard to accept the old way of life and unquestioning rule of parents, half of whom cannot speak English.

It begins in settlements that have never seen a television or automobile. The young Indians are sent out to high schools in a white man's world where they are buffeted not only by a cultural shock, but with the academic shock of finding that their Grade 8 education on paper is in reality little more than a Grade 5 or 6 education by the standards of their white classmates.

With only the exceptional ones able to overcome academic handicap and the loneliness of separation from their families to achieve a high school graduation, most return to their settlements as dropouts to find themselves caught between two worlds—no longer able to completely accept the old way of life but longing for the security it once gave them.

"It may be a cliché to say it but they are truly the lost generation," said Robert Lavack, a consultant in the youth and recreation branch of the Ontario Department of Education.

"They are reaching out for the white man's world and the things he has only to find that they can only get half of it," he said.

GLOBE AND MAIL JAN. 26, 1970

Martin Greenwood, an associate professor of anthropology at Lakehead University, who headed a study of the effects of education on isolated communities, concludes: "The effect is that it is splitting it up into the young and the old."

He said education is providing the settlements with young persons who are not necessarily smarter than their parents—but more sophisticated. The result is a clash when the elders attempt to force the teen-agers to conform to the old standards.

Last summer in Sandy Lake teen-age dropouts began forming gangs with names such as Satan's Souls, patterned after the Hell's Angels. Parents and council members found themselves confronted with a rash of teen-agers taking to glue-sniffing and drinking a mixture of Coca-Cola and hairspray to induce hallucinations. It has largely now been stamped out by a worried community.

Sandy Lake, 360 miles north of Thunder Bay, has a high rate of welfare. The accompaniment of boredom is often hypochondria.

Miss Knipe, who left Sandy Lake last summer after two years, said one-third or more of those who came to the clinics were imagining illnesses. "If I was a Canadian I would be ashamed of myself for what is happening."

She said there are about 1,000 persons in Sandy Lake (no more than 30 are non-Indians) who are served by 23 Government and private agencies, but in most cases there is a glaring lack of co-ordination to make all the efforts effective.

James Batty, a 31-year-old Australian who was assistant Indian superintendent at Sandy Lake before leaving last summer to study at Lakehead University, said that what is fundamentally wrong is a lack of any over-all policy on how to help the Indians or what the objective is.

"Until we decide the underlying aims and philosophies of what we are trying to do up there, and get interdepartmental co-operation from all governments, we won't solve much."

Mr. Greenwood said Indians cannot have any self-respect as long as white men are running their settlements.

"Our whole approach to the Indians has been humanitarian but it has never been on the basis that the Indian could think for himself. We have created a whole group of dependent people and our job is not to keep them dependent or to paint them white—but to understand them."

Mr. Greenwood who toured isolated reserves during the study, said, "The closer the reserves are to us, the worse the reserves get."

He said in many settlements the

distrust by Indians of white men has reached almost crisis proportions. This is particularly so, he said, in settlements which have had greater contact with the outside world and have become more dependent on welfare, such as Sandy Lake.

Mr. Greenwood said that one of his anthropology students who went to a settlement to conduct a housing survey, was almost physically run out of the community after he told them that he had come there to help them. "The trouble is we have this hangup. We think that all we have to do is educate the young and we will solve the problems."

Mr. Greenwood's concern is shared by Robert Steele, Department of Education director for No. 1 region which stretches from the Manitoba border to east of Nipigon.

Indian education in the settlements is still the responsibility of the federal Government but Mr. Steele's concern stems from the realization that the federal Government has indicated in its new Indian policy that it wants to turn the responsibility over to the provinces.

"I don't think anyone in this country has sat down and decided education of Indians, for what?" Mr. Steele said. What has to be decided, he said, is whether we are going to educate them for a life back in the isolated settlements or for taking part in an industrial white society.

Some teachers in settlement schools have been trying to arrange trips to cities to give elementary school children a look at the world and help them adjust before being thrust into it.

Mr. Greenwood said he believes that some high school facilities should be provided in the north so that the Indian children are able to attend high school classes for a couple of years before going out.

Mr. Steele said that high schools such as those in Thunder Bay are experimenting with an adjustment year for Indians who arrive so that they don't have to compete with white classmates in their first year. "The tearing of family ties is a pretty serious shock to them. The Indian child and his parents are closely knit and when you uproot the child, it's a serious shock."

Another problem, he added, is in obtaining good homes to board the Indian children. Often there are too many people just looking for the board money and who have no interest in the child. The result can be a lonely child under very little supervision.

Registered Indian children (often called treaty Indians) are financially supported at high schools by the federal Government. But the children of non-registered Indians are not.

"What do you do with an Indian



The general store: focal point of the isolated northern settlement.
—THE GLOBE AND MAIL, FRIDAY, JAN. 23, 1970

girl who goes into a classroom and cannot smile because she has no teeth and is ashamed to open her mouth?" Mr. Steele asked.

What has been done is the creation of a voluntary Indian student fund with an objective to help students in need. It grew out of two donations sent unsolicited by the students of a Toronto high school. The fund, with donations from northern teachers' groups and service and church clubs, was \$1,000. Mr. Steele said high school staffs know they can call on the fund to help students in need.

The result of the bewildering array of efforts to help the Indians has been the growth of distrust and resentment on the part of Indians toward non-Indian outsiders.

"What is lacking is someone to come in from outside and find out what the people want and think," said Rev. Robert Stevens.

Mr. Stevens, a United Church minister who has gained the confidence of various factions in Sandy Lake, said that "Indian Affairs is no longer spoken to."

Mr. Stevens said two men were flown in with \$1,500 worth of tools to teach a two-week course in snowmobile repairs. It cost \$5,000 to provide the course, and in two weeks the men left with the tools after fixing most of the snowmobiles in the community.

"It would have been better to provide the community with \$1,500 worth of tools and pay someone \$3,500 here for fixing snowmobiles or a year," Mr. Stevens said.

One of the problems of agencies such as Indian Affairs branch in trying to meet the needs of Indians

across Canada is that what may be priority for one reserve, may be gibberish to another.

After pressure from the more sophisticated Indian councils in southern Canada for more freedom in running their own affairs a five-page circular was sent out by the Indian Affairs branch explaining an extension of a program of grants designed to let Indian councils assume more responsibility for operation of the reserves.

An official who works with Indians in Northern Ontario said: "Unfortunately the Indian people of this area do not possess the administrative skills to implement the intent of the circular. In fact, few of the chiefs or councillors have seen the circulars."

Powerless to act

"It's the same with many segments of a developing society. The non-Indian administration is powerless to act until the people request action. The Indian people do not have the skills to initiate action, thus a stalemate exists."

"We are slowly educating the Indian people to take advantage of the legislation designed for their advancement. However, this is a slow process. As a people they have few parallel administrative functions, thus they rely heavily on the non-Indian for advice."

"This of course causes resentment and frustration. The often cited formula 'Leave Indian development to the Indians' sounds good, but there are so few able Indian administrators and developers (in remote areas) that such phrases are hollow."

Videotape used to link Indian students to families

By RUDY PLATIEL
Globe and Mail Reporter

SANDY LAKE — The big Indian strode across the classroom, poked his finger at the white community development officer and said: "At 4 o'clock tomorrow you will play that again. I'm going to bring my wife. I want to talk to my son."

The Indian father had been one of about 75 adults and children who sat in the warm room still clad in parkas and winter clothing and watched television for the first time in this isolated Indian settlement.

But most important what they had been watching was a

video tape of their own sons and daughters, 360 miles south at high school in Thunder Bay, talking to them in Cree.

After it was over, Indian members of the settlement who had conceived the idea of bringing in a video tape unit, swung the camera on the audience and handed the microphone around to excited parents who talked back to their children in Cree.

The Indian father had been one who had not had a chance to speak but his terse demand, which might have offended some people, delighted Dal Brodhead, a 28-year-old community development con-

sultant with the youth and recreation branch of the Department of Education.

"It meant it had become their instrument, not the white man's," Mr. Brodhead said.

The equipment could be one key to easing the shock of disruption to family ties when Indian teen-agers are uprooted from the community and sent for nine months to high schools in cities and towns.

It could also help bridge a widening generation gap between parents, half of whom cannot speak English and have only a fuzzy concept of the more sophisticated world

to which their children have been exposed.

But the future of video tape communications in Sandy Lake rests with the Indian committee which thought of bringing it in.

It began when Mr. Brodhead made his first visit to Sandy Lake after being hired as a consultant by the department. The first question the Indians asked was what did he know about television?

Mr. Brodhead said he didn't know much but would find out for them. Through the department he borrowed a video tape recorder and camera and some taped programs—including hockey games which rate

high on the interest list of settlement Indians.

But the idea was to provide them with something they could exploit for their own needs. At Lakehead University, Indian high school students from Thunder Bay were brought in and a video tape made of them explaining to their parents about life in the city.

"If they see a use for it, they'll run their own show," Mr. Brodhead said. That was what happened when the Indian adults in the audience at Sandy Lake took over the equipment and taped replies to their children and grandchildren in Thunder Bay.

What happens now depends on the Sandy Lake Indian committee organized by settlement residents. The present equipment, now back at Thunder Bay, is to be returned in three months.

The committee is discussing buying a video tape unit. The price range is from \$2,000 to \$6,000.

Although Sandy Lake has no substantial economic base (fishing and trapping provide a marginal livelihood), lack of money need not stymie the project because grants are available for recreational purposes.

"It depends on what they want," Mr. Brodhead said.

Consult us, ask Eskimos

MONTREAL STAR.

APRIL 4, 1970

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Eskimo could not adjust to 'jungle'

By BOYCE RICHARDSON

Associate Editor of The Star

TWO federal and Quebec government officials who have been around Nouveau Quebec trying to sell to the people their proposals for a joint administration which would have the effect of turning over most services to the provincial government have met opposition from the Eskimos everywhere they have gone.

The tour by the two officials, officially speaking, is part of the "consultation" offered by the governments before any final decisions are made.

But there is every sign that the consultation, as was the similar protracted consultation with the Canadian Indians, is practically meaningless and is regarded by the people affected as an imposition from outside.

The Eskimos have said, everywhere, that they do not want to be handed over to the provincial government, and they have claimed that the first thing they want settled is their right to ownership of the land they have occupied from time immemorial.

This is perhaps the first time in Canada that Eskimo land rights have been pressed on the governments. And that is perhaps one reason why the two governments seem anxious to push this new administrative arrangement through without too much publicity in the outside world.

Decisions taken

I have received the transcript of a three-day meeting held by the two officials, Bud Neville of the federal government, and Mr. Robitaille, of the Quebec government, at Great Whale River, in mid-February and the sense one gets from the transcript is a strong feeling among the Eskimos and Indians that in spite of the pretense at "consultation," the real decisions have already been taken without their participation.

The official explained that after the extension of the boundaries of Quebec into the north in 1912 the federal government continued to administer such services as there were but that in 1964 the two governments agreed that Quebec should extend services into the area. Between 1964 and 1969, the provincial government extended its services, and the federal government maintained its services, but the discussions on how the province could most effectively take over the administration did not get seriously started until 1969.

Why the interest?

The local people obviously felt, and one of them said so directly that the new interest of the southern governments was caused by the fact that they suddenly realized there was money to be made through mineral exploitation in the north. The officials read to the meeting a joint letter from Jean Chretien, the federal minister, and Paul Allard, the provincial minister, to the Eskimo people, outlining their reasons for making the change and declaring that both governments have agreed to accept the religious preferences, and the language and cultural heritage of the people in the north.

The letter said the present provision of services is "expensive and confusing" and that they proposed to make "some changes right now" in the services. "We are aware that you still have questions that need to be answered and that some of the Eskimo people do not yet fully understand what these changes will involve. It is obvious that more time is needed to answer your questions and to clear up misunderstandings," stated the ministers' letter, which promised only that the two officials would "listen to your views on how best to make these changes."

"As far as the letter goes," said Silas Cookie, Eskimo chief councillor at Great Whale River, "it's pretty use-

less to read it to the Eskimos and Indians. It was signed by the head of the two government departments without prior consultation of the Eskimo people. As far as we are concerned it is useless."

The letter claimed that elected Eskimo spokesmen — elected at a meeting in Quebec City in April, 1969 — were brought south several times in the past year to make the views of the people known.

Closed meetings

The question which must be asked is: Has this consultation been any more meaningful than the present round, in which the Eskimos are merely being asked for their opinion on how to implement changes which they do not want? No one can tell how effective these prior consultations have been: they have all taken place behind closed doors.

I went to Quebec City to cover the meeting in April, 1969, but was refused admission. The Eskimos, brought south into a strange environment, stood around the walls of a motel near Quebec City, looking bewildered. All that got out about the meeting was that the two governments were discussing the rationalization of services, and that the discussions were very friendly.

Later in the year, Elijah Menarik, who wanted to report on these discussions in Eskimo on the CBC's northern services, was also refused admission to a similar meeting in Quebec; and later still, a month or so ago, reporters were not permitted to cover a meeting held in Montreal of teachers from federal schools in Nouveau Quebec, who met to discuss the transfer of education to provincial jurisdiction.

In other words, the initial consultations were all made at the official level, publicity was refused because it is not customary to open meetings at this level to the press, and then, hey presto, the results surface into the public view in a smooth letter from the two governments promising "consultation" about how to put into operation a fait accompli.

The claim for control of the land is a new one in Eskimo affairs. "First of all," said Mr. Cookie, who has represented the Eskimos throughout these negotiations, "we must take our own land in our own hands. After we have a real hold on our land it would be like we start to build our own house. The Eskimo land should not be run by the white man, but should be run by the Eskimos. We don't want only the white man to come and tell us what to do... The white men, they are only in our country because they are thinking about money... They don't think about the Eskimos and Indians... When the white man is in the Eskimo land he believes he is a boss only — a king. We know well and you know too that when the white man is in the north somewhere, he is the boss. It is like that. We should try to have a better understanding."

The intruder

Eskimo councillor Joe Kumariuk said: "This is our land and I think it amiss if some stranger comes in and says, 'You do this, you do that.' The white men who come into the country, I don't think they should be the bosses. Eskimos should be bosses... The white man does his own things in his own land. It should be the same for the Eskimo in his land."

Noah Sheshamush, a Cree band councillor, said: "In the past the Indians and Eskimos were very poor. Why didn't the Quebec government assist us when we were poor? Now the Indians and Eskimos have gathered enough strength to stand on their own feet. Now another government wants to take responsibility — for money."

"For a long time," said Paulose Naparktuk, "Eskimo have been on this land. Now they would like to be master of this land and govern it, but for a long time we were not told about that."

"The two governments have had a meeting without the Indians and Eskimos knowing there was a meeting," said Mr. Cookie, referring to the 1964 agreement. "That is what I call treating the Indians and Eskimos like dogs, going ahead and making their proposals without consulting Indians and Eskimos." He added that it is true they do consult Eskimos and Indians, but "they never seem to carry out what they talk about."

Self-education

Mr. Naparktuk: "The white people think we are stupid because we do not understand anything. But we are learning more and more how the white man thinks and acts. In the past we had our own way of thinking and doing things. We don't want to appear stupid to the white man, so we are learning more and more about the white man and how he thinks. The only way things can be fixed in a

better way is when white and Eskimo enter each other's minds so they can think alike.

"That's true that the Quebec land is a big one. That half which we live in is very big. I think if we had a local government, it would be very good. We would still be following the laws of Canada as a whole."

The two officials obviously were not anxious that this talk about land should go on, but the Eskimos persisted.

Joe Kamurluk put a wire across the map, dividing Nouveau Quebec from the rest of the province: "Above the wire the Eskimo and Indians are living now. They would like to own this land, free to run their own affairs. This territory we want for ourselves and we want to get to the point where we can manage all our own affairs within this territory. We want to choose who we want to assist us."

And who they want, clearly enough, is the federal government.

In a participatory democracy, is a 1964 agreement between two white men's governments to be more important than the 1970 opinions of the people themselves?

Treatment of Que. Eskimos Damnable

3/14/70

— Diefenbaker

(By The CP) — Former prime minister John Diefenbaker said Friday the conduct being shown Eskimos in northern Quebec "is short of damnable."

Mr. Diefenbaker made the charge as he read to reporters a letter from Eskimo leaders that said the native people do not want to be treated "just like animals" in the possible transfer of jurisdiction over them to Quebec.

The Eskimos in Quebec are complaining they are not being "listened to," said Mr. Diefenbaker. "They don't want to be removed."

Earlier in the Commons, Mr. Diefenbaker sought assurances from Northern Development Minister Chretien that jurisdiction over the Eskimos would not be "taken away, transferred or rented."

Mr. Chretien said departmental and Quebec officials are touring the area and he is awaiting their report. No decision had been taken on jurisdiction.

By DONALD NEWMAN

Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — John Diefenbaker promised yesterday to visit Eskimo communities in northern Quebec whose residents are protesting against plans to have the federal Government transfer responsibility for their affairs to Quebec.

Dissatisfied with answers to questions he posed in the House of Commons to Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien, the former Prime Minister told reporters he will visit Great Whale River, Sugluk and any other communities that wish to meet him on the matter.

The Conservative former Prime Minister said he will see if Mr. Chretien's department will offer him transportation to the remote villages in what is known as New Quebec. But if the offer is not forthcoming, he will go on his own.

"I'm not going to allow \$300

or \$400 of personal expenditure to deny me the opportunity of seeing that Canadians be treated as Canadians—not as automatons, not as puppets, not as things to be pushed around."

Mr. Chretien said in the House that the Eskimo communities are being consulted on arrangements for their future.

Mr. Diefenbaker disputed the minister's comments. Outside the House he said a letter he received from one of the Eskimo councils indicated that 7 residents of the northern communities have had no say.

"They say they've been spoken to — they are not listened to, and decisions are made without their approval. If that be consultation, then all I can say is that it has a new meaning in the dictionary."

"They should be treated as Canadians. I intend to do everything I can to ensure it. As a matter of fact when Canada has representatives all over the world trying to assure that other people shall not be discriminated against — the time has come to realize that charity begins at home, and that what is being done to these people is contrary to every principle of humanity and Canadianism."

Dief Says Eskimos Unhappy

4/9/70

OTTAWA (CP) — Federal policy is the same for Quebec's Indians as it is for the Eskimos of that province, Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien said in the Commons.

He was replying to Creditiste Leader Real Caouette.

John Diefenbaker (PC—Prince Albert) said earlier Mr. Chretien must be aware by now of "almost universal opposition" by the Eskimos to a transfer of jurisdiction to Quebec from Ottawa.

CALGARY — Anthony Aparpik Thrasher told a tragic story of an Eskimo's encounter with the white man's world before he was sentenced in Alberta Supreme Court yesterday to 15 years for manslaughter.

Thrasher, a 32-year-old Eskimo from Powerton, N.W.T., faced trial on a charge of non-capital murder. He was convicted on the reduced charge by Mr. Justice Harold Riley.

Mr. Justice Riley said Thrasher was guilty of "a particularly savage and brutal attack" on Charles Ratkovich, a 70-year-old pensioner, here last Nov. 6.

Thrasher told the court that he was born on the coast of the Northwest Territories 190 miles northeast of Inuvik, one of 17 children. He left home in 1957 at 17 after completing Grade 6. He wanted to take a diesel mechanic's course at Leduc, Alta., and then return north to work on the Distant Early Warning radar line.

Everybody drinks
"The first day I came down to Edmonton, they put us right where everybody drinks — on 96th Street."

"I tried it. I didn't enjoy it too much, but I thought that's the way they lived down here."

Thrasher said he never stopped drinking, except for one year he spent in an alcoholic treatment centre. He got into trouble with the law, went to jail about 150 times and was in hospital four times after he had been assaulted by other persons.

"For the last two and a half years down here it's been bad, real bad," he said. "Never have a place to sleep except river banks, and eat from garbage cans. Only one Swiss family was kind enough to give me a job for a while. I will never forget them. That was the only bit of kindness I ever got out of this civilized country."

"I've gone to employment offices in Edmonton and Calgary and Lethbridge but their response is 'No,' or else, 'You are not registered in our files.'"

"I've got nothing against this country but I just can't adjust to it. It's a jungle to me."

Human prey

"Polar bears hunt and share a meal. They even leave some for the foxes. The foxes share together what they have. I come down here and watch human beings prey on one another."

"Down here they keep people in reserves, Indian reserves. Up north we keep animals in reindeer reserves and the government protects them and watches them year round."

"I still haven't seen the pictures of the beautiful cities I saw in my childhood. The outside world."

Thrasher testified he got drunk on wine Nov. 6 and could not remember meeting the old man.

4/2/70

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Tom Murphy on

Genocide in Canada

TO KILL A RED INDIAN was considered as fair game — in fact, it was the fairest and most challenging of sports for it required the maximum amount of skills and co-ordination. At least that was the opinion of those who hunted the Beothucks of Newfoundland. Today there are no more Beothucks — the last one died in 1829. But a great many of the others were slaughtered like the deer of the woods in what has to be one of the most cruel examples of total and complete genocide. And though this extermination took place in pre-confederation Newfoundland, this hardly invalidates the historical implications for Canadians today.

LONG BEFORE JOHN CABOT'S BOAT brushed the shores of Newfoundland, the natives of that area had inhabited the land in relative harmony for several thousand years. One Dr. Harp contends that the Beothucks (roughly pronounced bay-aw-ticks) "are probably the remnants of what we call 'Archaic' culture fairly consistent over North America some 5000 years ago. They were genetically, socially, and culturally distinct from any of the other existing native Indians in North America."

The Beothucks were a people of the caribou — migrating from place to place, freely adjusting their lives to the whims of the caribou. To cope with this beast that provided them with many of their basic needs, they constructed along the banks of the Exploits River, great fences from felled trees. At various intervals along this fence (which sometimes

measured up to 40 miles in length) they left openings. At these points, the Indians would hide in ambush and kill the caribou as they attempted to cross the river. This major accomplishment was the result of hard labor mixed with unerring ingenuity. It is interesting to note that the Beothucks are the only known Indian people to have used this method of deer fences.

They were also a people that placed a great emphasis on community — on living together for each other. Their summer dwellings were wigwam like-affairs with about ten people per dwelling. Their winter homes were octagonal structures that housed between twenty and thirty people. This made it easier to provide warmth for all. It is not difficult to imagine the many happy evenings various groups of Beothucks might have had — singing and laughing, perhaps thanking various higher deities for a successful hunt. On other occasions they must have ritualistically applied the red ochre to their faces that has abeled them the Red Indians. Or perhaps they took a steam bath. The Beothucks again, with their initiative and skill constructed perhaps North America's first steam huts. (To create the steam, water was splashed on heated rocks.) That the Beothucks were unique and intelligent, there is no doubt. That they could survive the malicious intent behind white men's guns was another question.

NO ONE IS QUITE SURE either how or why the slaughter of the Beothucks began. It is suspected that Cabot saw them in 1497, but no contact was made then. By 1640, the kill was in full swing. As Howley observed, "He was ruthlessly shot down wherever he made his appearance." The first migration of Micmacs to Newfoundland occurred in 1604. It is quite likely that the two peoples were on friendly terms from the beginning. One version has it that there was a contentious murder that raised hostilities between the two tribes. The Beothuck was easy prey for the Micmacs who were armed with white men's guns. One Micmac, Noel Boss, was purported to have killed 99 Beothucks — and felt quite bad about not getting an even 100.

Descriptions of atrocities abound. One story tells of a small family of Indians who were surprised by a group of fishermen. The Indians fled (knowing the power of white men's weapons) except one woman who was unable to escape. She yielded to them, pointing out by signs that she was pregnant. "This fact, however, did not affect the fishermen and one of them ripped open her womb and she expired before them in great agony. Then they mutilated the dead body to a spectacle of greatest horror."

(Cartwright) Another incident (1785) describes a similar

encounter — this time the woman involved was alone with a babe in arms. The fisherman shot her in the loins, grabbed the child, and later put it on display in the village at two pence per showing. The child was named John August, after the month of his capture.

On rare occasions and quite naturally, the Red Indians retaliated. But for the most part, their response was to retreat to the interior of Newfoundland. Because they were hemmed in on all sides, they would dare only to come to the coast when food was scarce — and then at great risk of life. To some, starvation must have seemed preferable to being the victims of some person killing for sport.

By 1823, there were only 15 survivors. Because of a lack of food, they split into four parties. One party consisted of a man and three women. The man drowned and two of the women starved to death, and the last survivor, Shanawdithit, died in 1829 at the home of Mr. Simms, then attorney general of Newfoundland.

Despite the general acceptance of the slaughter, there were those elements who were concerned about the events.

In 1803, a reward of \$250 was posted for the "capture" of a Red Indian who would become the "peacemaking contact". Since none ever seemed to be captured alive, they increased the award to \$500 in 1811. But the most ironical show of concern occurred in 1827 with the formation of a Beothuck Society "having for its first object the civilization of native savages." But after conducting an extensive search to find Beothucks to civilize and discovering that they had all disappeared, it became necessary to close down the society.

One of the historically contentious issues is just how many Beothucks there were. Very few figures are available. In 1766, it was estimated that there were about 500. In 1820, that number was down to 100. In 1823, there were definitely only 15. One must bear in mind that the numbers being dealt with are cumulative; for example, between 1766 and 1820 not simply 400 Indians were lost since three generations would have passed. The number of Indians who died during that period would probably be close to 1000. To hazard a guess as to the total number killed by other peoples would be purely speculative and undesirable. At any rate, the issue is not numbers but people. As one Beothuck researcher stated: "The story of the persecution and annihilation of the Beothuck people is difficult to comprehend. They were exclusive to Newfoundland, they were hunted, hounded, persecuted, killed — they are gone." (Francis Warren)

Such an historical atrocity does not result in an easy admission to the present day. Naturally, tourist bureaus and white men's history books would rather have us not know or at least be misinformed about our heritage, our past. For example, in a tourist booklet entitled "Historic Newfoundland" practically no mention is made of this genocide; "No friendly contacts were made with these aborigines, and they remained in their primitive barbarism until famine and disease and persecution finally wrought their destruction." What is far worse in this quote aside from its errors by omission is the paternalistic "white is right" attitude that prevails. This attitude, unfortunately, is not confined to tourist books and history texts.

TODAY, THERE ARE STILL INDIANS in Newfoundland. They inhabit the more remote areas on the west end of the island as well as the coast of Labrador. For the most part, they are forced to live under the same conditions that victimize the rest of the Indians in Atlantic Canada. There are no reservations in Newfoundland, nor are there any governmental programs that aim to meet the specific needs of this group of people. The people of the island, for their part, generally refer to these natives as Jacketars — a label that is very derogatory and prejudicial.

It is important to look at the past for it is the past that shapes our attitudes in the present. Here we have looked at a tribe of Indians that for several thousand years, lived in peace and brotherhood on the island of Newfoundland. Then, white man came with white man's values backed up with white man's guns. Suddenly a people who showed initiative, ingenuity, community, were exterminated. Do bullets make white man superior? More civilized? More Christian? White man's present values have been shaped by this barbarism and this hypocrisy of the past. Rev. Philip Toque, who wrote in the early 1830's, gives us a perfect example of paternalism. He writes: "Had the government in the beginning sent a devoted Christian missionary to this degraded race, to charm them with the music of a Saviour's dying love, he would have been the true pioneer in the march of civilization: the hearts of these savages would have been tamed, their ferocity restrained, their passions subdued and the bow and arrow exchanged for the 'olive branch of peace'." m.e.

A HISTORY OF BROKEN PROMISES

JOHAN SACOBIE IS CHIEF of the fifteen Maliseet families living on the Oromocto, New Brunswick, Reserve. Though he had little formal education, he is wise to the tricks played on the Indians by the white man. Tricks like the government building him a modern, split level house but neglecting to install a furnace. He uses a wood stove which might be adequate for a house one quarter the size. Tricks like promising the Indians an increased clothing allowance for their children if the Indians agreed to let the government close down the reserve schools and send the children to white schools. An increase in the allowance would let Indian children dress like the white children they would now go to school with. The Indians agreed to close the reserve schools, but the clothing allowance increase has yet to be seen.

At sixty, John Sacobie is tall with slightly greying hair and looks to be in excellent physical health — that is except for his left foot. Two years ago he was working for the Oromocto Public Works Department. He was a flagman for a snowblower on the snow removal crew. One day in March 1968, after warning some children to keep away from the whirling blades of the blower, he went to jump back onto

INDIANS OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

NATIONAL FIGURES: Over 40% of Canada's native people are living on relief, and the proportion is rising, according to Indian-Eskimo Association data. About 28% of Indian families — that's families, not individuals — earn less than \$1,000.00 a year, 55% earn less than \$2,000.00, 78% less than \$3,000.00. Canadian life expectancy is 62 years; an Indian can expect only 34 years — and an Eskimo, appallingly, only 20.9 years. Only 9% of Indian homes have indoor toilets, and 56% have no electricity. Only three Indians in a hundred finish high school. Of 238,000 registered Indians in Canada, a total of 150 are at university. (Fifteen of these are Maritime Indians.)

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND: Let's bring these figures home. In February, 1968, a workshop on the situation of Prince Edward Island's Lennox Island band was held at Summerside, and the statistics in its report on the Indians of P.E.I. come down almost to specific cases.

The Lennox Island band includes all the reserve or "registered" Indians of P.E.I., all of whom are Micmac. On the reserves there are 258 people; 152 live off reserves. There are four reserves: Rocky Point (3 acres near Charlottetown, uninhabited), Scotchfort (132 acres, 16 miles from Charlottetown on Route 2, population 32), Morrell (183 acres in King's County, population 10), and Lennox Island itself.

Lennox Island, 1320 acres, population 216, is located three-quarters of a mile offshore in Malpeque Bay, and has been the home of most P.E.I. Indians since 1865. There is an inadequate ferry service to the mainland, but no action yet on the \$550,000 causeway the Indians want. A two-room Indian Affairs school on the island, which ran in 1968 to Grade 6, has since been extended to Grade 8; beyond that level the children must be boarded on the main island. Of 44 residents of employable age, the trade of 34 was "laborer"; only four had education beyond Grade 8, none beyond Grade 10. At that time one Indian child was in Grade 12, none in Grade 11. Of all employable P.E.I. Indians, only one was over age 55 — remember that life-expectancy figure? And there is no doctor or nurse on the island.

In 1968 there were 50 homes on the island, seven built within the previous two years. Of these 46 had electricity — but only six had sewers or septic tanks, and naturally only six had bathrooms. None had telephones. Less than half had running water. In 1967 Indian Affairs gave \$800.00 for home improvement, in 1968 \$7,000.00 — enough to fix up two houses. By 1980 or 1985 no doubt everyone will have a toilet. Meanwhile we must be patient.

Of 40 households, 20 were living on social assistance, of which only two were readily employable; the others were widows, persons with various handicaps and the like. Fourteen were on various pensions; three were in training programs, only three in employment. Of those who have jobs, most are employees in the Indian Affairs administration. In an island off an island, what employment is available? Blueberry picking, fishing, a little subsistence farming — little else.

Many Lennox Islanders have migrated off the reserve, often to the U.S. These emigrants have become teachers, finance company and co-op fish plant managers, landscapers, contractors, painters, nurses and so forth, as well as filling less skilled positions as laborers, office clerks and the like.



"Wanted to meet: A Jean Chrétien supporter.
Object: To see if there is another."

Thanks to Canadian Dimension and Fred Kelly.

the running board and slipped. His left foot was crushed under the wheel of the moving snowblower.

He spent twenty-one days in the Oromocto Hospital during which time his doctors declared him to be fit two or three times. But he wasn't. After four and a half months in Ridgewood Hospital in Saint John, he was again released with his foot supposedly healed. Again it wasn't. During his stay in hospital he had received his regular salary from the Workman's Compensation Board, but after he was released from the hospital, the compensation stopped. He was told by his doctors that his foot was good enough for him to do light work. Unfortunately, the chief engineer of the Town of Oromocto thought differently and John Sacobie was refused employment. Having five children and a sick wife, he applied for unemployment insurance. The application was rejected on the basis of the medical reports which said that John Sacobie was physically capable of supporting himself, and his family.

Unfortunately, the doctors had failed to come up with an explanation for the large, noticeable blood clot in Sacobie's foot, or an explanation of why he hobbled around, or why his foot pained him during cold weather.

EDITORIAL

Indians and Others

It is axiomatic that war brutalizes the most ordinary and normal man. It is also clear that the nature of the fighting in Vietnam—with no defined battle lines—contributes to the brutalization process. The very nature of the fighting endangers civilians. The concept of "free fire zones" is false, for the zones are seldom if ever really cleared of civilians. Even so, there is an aspect of the Pinkville and similar situations which cannot be fully accounted for by the "war breeds brutalization" thesis.

Raymond R. Coffey, who covered the war in Vietnam for two and a half years, regularly for the *Chicago Daily News* and occasionally for *The Nation*, points out that, with exceptions of course, "the most evident and most profound feeling toward the Vietnamese among American GIs is contempt." The South Vietnamese on "our side" are included. "There ain't no gooks on my side" is the way one Marine expressed his feelings to Coffey. Friendly or unfriendly, North or South, the Vietnamese are commonly referred to by such terms of contempt as "gooks," "dinks," "slopes" and similar expressions. Dr. Morton H. Fried, professor of anthropology at Columbia University (also a *Nation* contributor), reports in a letter to *The New York Times* that in the course of two or three trips a year to East Asia, he has often heard Americans, both officers and nonofficers, express "the most horrifying opinions of the Asians among whom they were serving. To put it mildly, they did not regard Asians, whether friend or foe, as quite human." In a recent interview with GIs at a veterans' hospital, a reporter for the *New York Post* collected such statements as this: "One million of them ain't worth one of us." The saddest aspect of these interviews was that some of the veterans quoted were black or Puerto Rican.

How account for this prevalent feeling? It may relate far back to our brutalizing experience with Indians as "the course of empire" moved westward. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, who was not a particularly bloodthirsty general as generals go, said at Fort Cobb in 1869: "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." On another occasion, when asked if his soldiers had killed Indian women and children, he is said to have replied: "Nits make lice." Over a period of many years, the attitude reflected in such statements became "structured," so to speak, as part of the folklore if not the psyche of many Americans. In how many penny dreadfuls, bad movies, plays and tales of one kind or another has the killing of Indians been equated with the killing of coyotes? The massacre continues on TV, whites killing Indians, Indians killing whites, with the ratio about 10 to 1 in favor of the whites.

The notion that the Indian is not a human being, endlessly repeated, from one generation to the next, is easily transferred to Vietnamese and other Asians (read Mark Twain on the "Heathen in Outer Darkness," which dates from an earlier war in Asia), the counterparts of Indians to many Americans. How long it may take to exorcise this tragic blindness is suggested by the circumstance that Hollywood has only recently produced a film which pictures an Indian as a credible human being, *Tell Them Willie Boy Is Here*. It was written and directed by that fine talent, Abraham Polonsky, who was blacklisted out of the industry for some twenty years. The film comes at an opportune time; it just might help some Americans to understand how and why it is that they think of Vietnamese very much as General Sheridan thought of Indians.

NATION December 22, 1969

ONE GOOD TURN DESERVES ANOTHER

ON THE MOST RECENT INDIAN WAR: General Maxwell Taylor, in testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, said, "We have always been able to move in the areas (of Vietnam) where the security was good enough. But I have often said it is very hard to plant corn around the stockade when the Indians are still around. We have to get the Indians farther away in many of the provinces to make good progress."

An officer in a Green Beret training "comic book" used by the Army, says: "That's one little Indian that won't talk anymore," as a Vietnamese is shot.

Genocide in America



July 1899

When Indians Were Massacred

Editor's Note: Lester A. Halpin is a Portland freelance writer and a retired newspaperman and radio news director.

During World War II, Halpin was assistant director, U.S. Office of Censorship, Press and Radio Division, in Washington, D.C.

By LESTER A. HALPIN

THE forthcoming U.S. Army court-martial trial of 1st Lt. William L. Calley Jr. on charges of premeditated murder in connection with the alleged massacre of 109 South Vietnamese civilians at My Lai village could well serve as a reminder to Americans that in their own frontier West, white men were responsible for numerous mass slayings of Indian men, women and children.

It is part of the mythology of the West to associate the word "massacre" exclusively with mass killings of whites by Indians and to dismiss the native peoples of North America as "savages" who wantonly attacked "civilized" white men, women and children, and to overlook or dismiss similar actions by the whites. This is the version of history we learned from childhood.

To quote a book written for children and given to the writer when he was young: "The Red Indians were fierce and cruel howling savages." Nothing was said about Caucasian savages who slaughtered Indians, not in isolated incidents, but more or less as a matter of policy. When Indians, hungry because they had lost their hunting grounds, fishing rivers and food plants, carried away American livestock or retaliated for outrages by killing white men, their blood crimsoned the land seized from them.

The book given to the writer as a school prize many years ago also said of Indians: "One of the horrible things they did was to scalp their enemies, cutting off the skin of the head with hair on it, using stone hatchets called tomahawks."

No mention was made in the little volume of the famous Indian fighter, Col. William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, who took time out from his dedicated work of killing large numbers of bison to fight a duel with the son of a Cheyenne chief, an Indian named Yellow Hand, kill his opponent and immediately removed the victim's scalp. Explicit as a surgeon-teacher speaking to internes, Cody explained the technique of scalping: "Jerking his war bonnet off, I scientifically scalped him in about five seconds."

Would it be unfair to ask if anyone who could perform a scalping "scientifically" might have practiced the art before?

In California alone the drop in Indian population between the gold rush year of 1848 and 1858 has been estimated at 50,000. The racial policy of some gold seekers could be summed up in the word "genocide." A member of John C. Fremont's party reported in 1847: "We killed plenty of game and an occasional Indian. We made it a rule to spare none of the bucks."

Vengeance

In March 1852, white miners from Weaverville, Calif., were reported to have avenged the death of a white man by trapping about 100 Indians in a narrow gulch and killing all but one. Women and children were knifed to death as they huddled beneath a natural bridge. One Indian girl was taken to Weaverville and sold to a teamster for \$45.

White settlers who on the night of Feb. 25, 1860, attacked some 60 Indians on an island in

California's Humboldt Bay near the present city of Eureka, while adult Indian males were away hunting, killed women, children, the elderly and infirm. When writer Bret Harte, then serving as editor of the newspaper *NORTHERN CALIFORNIAN* in Uniontown, editorially deplored this massacre, his own life was threatened by whites and he returned to San Francisco.

The massacre on Indian Island — it later became Gunther's Island — and the earlier one near Weaverville were but two in a series in the Mad and Eel River regions of California. In the Owens Lake incident of 1865 white settlers drove about 100 Indians to horrible deaths in the waters of an alkaline lake. A Pitt River Valley Indian massacre of 10 to 15 white men in 1867 brought reprisal in the destruction of an entire Indian village.

Canadian Incident

In Canada if any one incident was chiefly responsible for formation of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, "Northwest Mounted" when established in 1873, it was the massacre at an Assiniboine Indian camp some 40 miles north of the border by renegade white men who called themselves wolf hunters from Montana. About 40 Indians died.

While many of these massacres were committed by persons not members of the U.S. Army, unprovoked surprise attacks by the militia on Indians of both sexes and all ages were not unknown. On Nov. 29, 1864, a Colorado militia company under command of Col. J. M. Chivington made a surprise assault on a peaceful encampment of Cheyennes at Sand Creek, Colo., killing some 300 Indian men, women and children, sparing none.

In the Modoc War in 1873 a company under Captain Ben Wright fell upon Indians after they had laid down their arms

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to make a treaty. So bloody was this slaughter that Wright was reported to have boasted that he had made a "permanent" treaty with at least 1,000 Indians.

Hundreds Slain

In 1890 almost 300 Sioux men, women and children were shot to death in South Dakota by troopers of the U.S. Seventh Cavalry. The victims had been preparing to surrender when a young Indian fired a rifle and the massacre followed.

It was Gen. Philip Henry Sheridan who said the popular philosophy about the Indian in the West at the time was best expressed in the words: "The dead Indian is the only good Indian."

Gen. William T. Sherman sent a search and destroy order in 1867 to Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock at Fort Leavenworth: "We must clean out all Indians between the Platte and Arkansas rivers; then proceed in force against hostile tribes beyond those rivers. We must not remain on the defensive, but follow and attack on all possible occasions."

The PORTLAND OREGONIAN on July 9, 1887, said editorially of Sherman's order: "... to the people of the Western border, the plains and the Pacific Coast, who have learned something of the inborn perfidy and fiendish barbarism of the Indians, it (the search and destroy order) will appear as the utterance of a man of practical good sense. If cleaning them out had been the motto of the Government from the start, the country would have had fewer occasions to shudder at some of the devilish atrocities perpetrated by sneaking, perfidious, murdering savages. Blankets and beads and kindness never made an Indian a friend."

Some say the U.S. image abroad has been damaged by making the My Lai affair public, but at least Americans are prepared to face truth, whatever it may turn out to be in this incident. Is now the time to rewrite the history of the West by "telling it like it was?"

ODD BODKINS

By DAN O'NEILL



Germ Warfare, Bombs and Bullets Used to Kill 30,000 In Brazilian Land Grab

SEE NEXT PAGE

Civilization Preys On South America Indians

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Photo Courtesy Of National Geographic, Copyright 1970

DEATH LIST—Claudio Villas Boas, an administrator of the Xingu National Park in Brazil, listens as primitive Tchikao tribesmen tick off the names of Tchikao killed by diamond hunters. The Xingu National Park is an 8,500-square-mile preserve set aside by

the Brazilian government for remaining Stone Age Indian tribes as a sanctuary where they can live in peace and continue their culture. The last count, in 1968, showed there were 53 Tchikao left, while there were more than 400 in 1958.

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE
Special to The New York Times

TARTAGAL, Argentina, March 2—Four centuries after the Spanish flag and the cross were raised over South America, the conquest of the continent continues, at the expense of its original inhabitants, the Indians.

The descendants of the European conquerors are no longer concentrating on the coastal lands and cities. The thrust now is toward the vast, barely explored central mass of South America—the new Eldorado.

The Peruvian Government has started roads deep in the Amazonian hinterland. The Brazilian Government has formally transferred its seat from coastal Rio de Janeiro to the new interior city of Brasília.

Incalculable riches in wood, minerals, petroleum and other natural resources await the exploiter who can push economic lines of transport and communication into the continent's dark heart.

For the most part the Indian is no longer disposed to fight the invader, although missionaries in Brazil, Ecuador and elsewhere are still murdered from time to time. But the mere presence of Indians in many areas is an annoyance to would-be developers. They have no role to play and are viewed as a social impediment.

Though those attitudes seem clear, the South American governments insist that their objective is the peaceful integration of the Indians into their nations. And, in fact, the condition of the Indians has improved a little in some countries. But for most, the burden of the past is heavy.

Having lost almost all of their battles, they have turned away—either into the depths of the forests or into themselves, lost in disease, narcotics and desperation.

Their numbers have been reduced from the time of Pizarro onward, partly through massacres but mainly because of poverty. In the wilderness these days, half the Indian children die and the adult is unlikely to live beyond age 30.

In Brazil, for example, there were about 230 distinct groups at the turn of the century, each with its own language and customs. By 1957 there were 143. The Indian population of Brazil

has declined by 20,000 in two decades.

The Indians who were on Tierra del Fuego and the southern tip of South America a generation ago are extinct now, eliminated for the most part in nonviolent ways by the white societies of Argentina and Chile.

While problems for Indians are serious throughout the Western Hemisphere, they are most severe in Latin America. Depending on anthropological definitions, there are 15 million to 25 million Indians left in the Western Hemisphere, of whom fewer than a million are in the United States and Canada.

During the last two years world opinion, especially in France, West Germany, Sweden and Britain, has become concerned with the fate of the South American Indian.

Proof of Genocide Alleged

A Swedish anthropologist, Lars Persson, asserted that he had proof that a policy of genocide prevailed. In a radio interview last Nov. 29, he said: "White civilization is bringing about the destruction of the social and cultural ambience of the indigenous peoples as well as their physical destruction."

For their part, the Government of Brazil and those of every other nation in South America have heatedly denied any such policy.

On the other hand, in Brazil, at least, the situation has been grievous. In October, 1967, Gen. Alonso Albuquerque Lima, at the time the Minister of Interior, announced that the Indian Protection Service had apparently been committing atrocities against the very people it was supposed to help. Officials allegedly had been bribed by land-grabbers to clear various zones of Indians in whatever ways seemed most effective.

In March, 1968, Jader Figueiredo, the Prosecutor General, submitted a report on an investigation. Among the alleged crimes against Indians—notably the Long Belts of the Mato Grosso—were intentional starvation, poisoning, contamination with disease germs, slaughter with firearms, bombs and other weapons, rape, forced labor, abuse of child labor, homosexual attacks and many forms of torture.

At a subsequent news conference, Mr. Figueiredo said: "Tortures have been inflicted

on Indians similar to those practiced by the Nazis at the Treblinka and Dachau camps. Those responsible are the officials of the Protection Service."

No Officials Were Tried

Furthermore, he said the organization had caused more than \$10-million in damage to Indians' belongings.

The service was dissolved and replaced, but no former officials have come to trial and the matter appears to have been dropped.

As for more favorable policies, the late President René Barrientos Ortuño of Bolivia, who was killed in a helicopter crash last year, was partly Indian and spoke fluent Quechua—the language of the Incas.

"If my administration has done nothing else for Bolivia," he once said in an interview, "it has at least eliminated the hateful word 'Indian,' substituting the proud word 'farmer.' Men should be sorted out according to occupation, not race."

General Barrientos's view is shared by few South American leaders.

"Argentina is far ahead of the rest of Latin America because of the superiority of its racial composition," a Cabinet minister in Buenos Aires said in a recent private conversation. "We are Europeans, without any mixture of Indian or Negro blood."

Few comparisons are so offensive to predominantly European Latin Americans as the suggestion that they bear some relationship to Mexicans or Central Americans.

"You Americans will have to get over the image of South America as the boy snoozing away under a big sombrero," a Chilean official said. "We are not Indians or Mexicans."

As a matter of fact, most Chileans, while European in appearance, have some Araucanian ancestors—Indians who fought the Spanish ferociously in the 16th century until they were subdued and absorbed.

Even the intellectuals of white South America tend to regard the Indian as virtually an animal.

"My father used to tell me of the Indians of his day," said Jorge Luis Borges, an Argentine who is considered one of the great writers in Spanish. "They were very stupid. It seems. Their way of counting

was like this—one, two, three, many. Just four numbers. I'm afraid it's hard to do much with such people."

When a fire or other catastrophe rips through one of the many shantytown slums ringing Buenos Aires, the average middle-class city dweller is likely to say: "Too bad, but that's what happens to people who don't work. They're all Paraguayans and Bolivians."

Economic Motives Too

The remark actually has racial meaning. To many Argentines the two neighboring peoples are inferior because most Paraguayans are partly Guaraní Indian while most Bolivians are part Aymara or Quechua.

Apart from the powerful force of racial prejudice, economic motives also work strongly against the Indian.

Here in the north Argentine Chaco, for example, enormous tracts of virgin land belong to the Government and theoretically are at the disposal of the marginal Indian tribes.

In fact, the land is at the disposal of great landowning families and companies and of the picturesque gaucho, who may be seen riding along the trails just as he did a century ago, armed with a knife and a gigantic revolver.

There are roughly 20,000 pure-blooded Indians and 30,000 Indian-speaking people of mixed blood here in Salta Province—about 10 per cent of the population.

Not one pure-blooded Indian has title to land and fewer than 100 of those of mixed blood have title. They live as squatters from day to day, hoping they will not be forced off Government or private property.

Must Change Their Names

They are compelled by law to change from Indian names to Spanish ones. Nevertheless, they lack the rights of citizens and cannot get the documents necessary to exercise those rights.

Indians complain that their cattle and land are constantly being stolen by gauchos—who regard the Indians with contempt—but that it is hopeless to protest.

Sugar mills, canning factories, sawmills and other industries in the region commonly exploit the Indian, frequently paying him in chits, with which he may buy overpriced goods at the company store.

Poor white workers are also exploited but often find ways of enforcing more just treatment. At the end of several weeks without pay, white women workers at a canning plant near here were paid in canned tomatoes and told to sell the produce. The women organized a strike and forced the company to pay them in cash.

The Indians have not learned the advantages of striking and generally refuse to participate in union activity. Company paymasters often abscond with entire payrolls, leaving Indian communities destitute and virtually without recourse after weeks or months of work.

Some of the Indians respond to the appeal of political groups to revolt against white domination and a few become Communists, but Indian allegiance to any political cause is rare, as Che Guevara learned when he tried to recruit Indians for the guerrilla campaign in eastern Bolivia that ended with his death.

NEW YORK TIMES
MARCH 11, 1970

Argentina

EMBARCACION, Argentina, March 2—The Indian tribes of northern Argentina are facing extinction as a result of disease and malnutrition, despite an abundance of doctors and food throughout the nation as a whole.

Missionaries, doctors and sociologists are in general agreement that the 250,000 surviving Argentine Indians have little chance of lasting more than a generation or two if present trends continue.

The Chaco—a vast region of parched scrub forest and jungle that extends over parts of Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay—is the last major stronghold of the Argentine Indian, who in the last century was forced off the better lands by whites.

The Chaco is intrinsically unhealthy, and there are major health hazards even in relatively developed communities such as EMBARCACION.

But the greatest complicating factor for the Indian is the combination of indifference and hostility with which he is faced by white Argentine society, in which he has no place.

Deprived of Rights

For lack of documents, most Indians are deprived of the rights of citizenship, including the right to own land. They are barred from many white schools and hospitals. When jobs are scarce, the major factories and farms stop hiring Indian labor. When labor is needed, the Indian is hired for wages far lower than those required by national labor laws. But until last year the gravity of the Indian public-health problem was unknown even to the handful of missionaries and public officials who had taken an interest.

Last year, a small team of sociologists and public-health workers headed by Guillermo Emilio Magrassi, an Argentine, made a detailed clinical survey of outlying Indian communities



The New York Times March 11, 1970
Shading denotes the Chaco

near here, the results of which were recently disclosed.

Mr. Magrassi, who had worked with Indian tribes in the United States and Mexico, was head of the Indian Affairs Department of Salta Province until the beginning of this year. He was discharged by the provincial authorities at that time because, in his words, "I stepped on the toes of too many landholders and others who benefit from Indian poverty."

Tuberculosis Is Epidemic

The survey results, published as an Argentine Government document, indicated that life expectancy for the Chaco Indian was less than 30 years.

Life expectancy in Argentina as a whole is 65.

Tuberculosis, described by a local missionary doctor as "a raging, permanent epidemic," was found in 80 per cent of the local Indian population.

Of the Indians examined, 59.38 per cent exhibited symptoms of Chagas disease (American trypanosomiasis), an incurable parasitic disease.

A Wealth of Doctors

In Argentina there is one physician for every 670 people—a better ratio than any nation in the hemisphere except the United States, which has one physician for every 633 people.

Despite Argentina's wealth of medical talent, there are no traveling Argentine doctors in the vast Chaco region, which is bounded by the Bermejo and Pilcomayo Rivers.

Last year there were two. One died in a jungle plane crash on his way to visit a hamlet, and the other resigned for lack of a vehicle, house, consulting room or drugs.

The only roving physician currently working in the area is Dr. Michael C. Patterson, a 34-year-old English missionary.

Dr. Patterson, one of about 40 missionaries of the Anglican Church working in the Argentine and Paraguayan Chaco, is probably the most famous of all outsiders among the people living in the clusters of huts dotting the interior Chaco.

In a half-dozen such communities, Indians, asked whether they had any medical assistance, replied: "Only Dr. Miguel."

Even in settlements near roads or the railroad, medical attention apart from that provided by Dr. Patterson proved virtually nonexistent.

Dr. Patterson, who lives here in EMBARCACION but who travels constantly, sees little hope for improvement.

"Nearly all Government authorities seem to feel that the Indian is the exclusive responsibility of the missionary. If we have a problem getting an Indian body buried, for example, they tell us: 'You take care of it. It's your Indian.'"

"There's a hospital with about 50 beds and six doctors here in EMBARCACION, but there is a strong resistance to Indians, both with respect to admission and treatment."

Missionaries and officials see some signs of modest progress against epidemics—during the last decade malaria in the Chaco has been suppressed because of an insecticide campaign conducted by the World Health Organization—but many feel it is too little and too late.

The gulf between white "criollo" residents of the Chaco and the Indians remains enormous.

Attrition Is Steady

The average white mother in the area has lost nine-tenths of 1 per cent of her children to disease, for example, while the Indian woman has lost 44 per cent of hers. Roughly 13 per cent of the criollos are illiterate, while 79 per cent of the Indians are illiterate.

Attrition has been steady. In 1935 it was estimated that the population of Indian communities on the banks of the Pilcomayo River was 35,000. In 1961 it was 12,000, and in 1969 it was 10,000.

The Chane, a tribe of interest to anthropologists because its language is related to the languages of Caribbean Indians, is almost extinct. Once a flourishing Indian nation, the Chane now are believed to number 1,000 or fewer.

As the Chanes' numbers diminish and their hunger grows, women of the tribe join the women of the Maticos, Tobas, Chiriguano, Chorotes, Chulupis and others in rummaging through garbage cans in white Argentine towns along the periphery of their forests.

Squatters on Their Own Land



• My body and mind writhed in pain, with a feeling of utter helplessness, when I read the article on Brazil's Indians. You've done a service to humanity by publishing this, and I hope ardently that this latest tragedy will be widely disseminated. Is the U.S. Government aware of this? Is the U.N. trying to do anything in this regard? Inaction on the part of the nice people of the world, when such terrible horrors are allowed to be perpetrated by so-called civilized individuals as well as nations, will only ensure the doom of humanity. One almost feels that human beings will deserve to disappear in a terrible tragedy. I am writing to the Secretary General of the U.N.

DR. K. S. NAGARAJA

Fairborn, Ohio

You deserve special commendation for bringing to your readers attention the horror committed in Brazil against the Indians.

I was so disturbed by the report of outspoken genocide that I mailed a copy of it to the In-

ternational League for the Rights of Man, of which organization I am a member, requesting that the facts be brought to the attention of the United Nations. The League is a non-governmental consultant to the U.N.

You may be interested to learn that I received a prompt reply stating "... This is a matter of

grave concern for our affiliate the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom ... the League intends to take up the matter within the week with the Brazilian Mission at the U.N., in connection with the torture of the political prisoners in Brazil ... They also promised to tell me what action is to be taken.

FELIX SPIELMAN

New York, N.Y.



"This is all very unfair!
I have never killed
anyone personally."

PUNCH



Indianermisionar Los Casas
... die Sanftmut von Lämmern verliehen"

• I read with great interest the article concerning the killing of the Brazilian Indians. I was amazed that I had not read about the alleged genocide before. I decided to ask for information about the subject from the Wycliffe Bible Translators, who are on the scene in Brazil working with some of the very tribes mentioned in the article.

As you will read, they completely denied the report. I now have some doubt as to the truth behind your article.

GARY W. HAVENS

Elgin, Ill.

Dear Mr. Havens:

Thank you for referring the question about Brazil to us. We do have about 160 missionaries in Brazil, working in 40 different tribes. We are, therefore, somewhat concerned in making sure that a fair representation of the Indian picture in Brazil is given to the public.

The material from Europe is pretty close to being pure bunk. To our knowledge, government officials have never been involved in any sort of mass murder of Indians. There have been killings in some areas, carried out by commercial interests generally seeking access to stands of rubber. The government has reacted within its capability, but the army patrols have arrived after the fact and have not been all that helpful.

The total number of Indians in Brazil cannot exceed 150,000. This fact alone should set some of the statements in their proper perspective. There was a wide investigation of the Indian Service with numerous charges of corruption, i.e. post agents making personal profits from operating Indian posts. The whole system has been revamped, with the organization of an Indian Foundation. Within the past year the foundation called in all missionary organizations to consult on ways in which the missions could help with the administration of education and welfare in areas where the government could not be active.

I am not sure what more I need say. There is an authoritative publication on the Indians of Brazil covering the situation tribe by tribe since the founding of the Indian Service. It is *Indians of Brazil in the Twentieth Century*, published in 1967 by the Institute of Cross-Cultural Research in Washington, D.C. I am one of the co-authors, along with three Brazilian scientists.

DALE W. KIETZMAN

Area Director, South America
Wycliffe Bible Translators, Inc.
Santa Ana, Calif.

Since the Brazilian Government itself admitted the complicity of 134 of its Indian agents, in crimes ranging from embezzlement to murder, in a March 1968 report, it is probably premature on the part of Wycliffe Bible Translators to state that "government officials have never been involved in any sort of mass murder."

—THE EDITORS

• I was deeply shocked to read about "Brazil's Dead Indians: The Killing of an Unwanted Race," (ATLAS, January). Systematic genocide is being carried out against the Indians with the full cooperation of the Brazilian government....

If U.S. companies like the Boat Carriers Corp., the largest single owner of land in Brazil, are aware of this, I want to know what they are doing to protect the Indians on their land?

CAROLYN GEIGER

Los Angeles, Calif.

ANDERSON

Long Island Press

FOUNDED 1821
Established as a Daily Newspaper 1898

'Comforts of Home

By JACK ANDERSON

WASHINGTON — Rough-and-tumble Walter Hickel, the ex-boxer, bartender and builder who now presides over the Interior Department, has juggled his government accounts and has flown his favorite interior decorator all the way from Seattle to Washington, D.C., to refurbish his private office and dining room.

The taxpayers are shelling out \$28,000 to decorate the Interior Secretary's own office interior to suit his rich tastes. Of this, \$10,000 is going to Arthur Morgan, a Seattle decorator, whose work has pleased Hickel in the past.

Under the federal contracting laws, no expenditure over \$2,500 is supposed to be made without full public notice. Hickel got around this by juggling the records, which were carefully suppressed to conceal the violation.

This column, however, has uncovered the incriminating vouchers. One damning document shows that Hickel's finance officer, Dale Rothrock, urged Management Operations Director George Gauzza to issue a dubious purchase order to satisfy Hickel.

"THIS DOES present some problems from the standpoint of either the limitation on purchases or contracts without advertising, or the restrictions on strictly personal services without complying with Department regulations," wrote Rothrock. "But guess we have no choice at this point."

Hickel is bringing all the comforts of his home in Alaska to his new domain in the Interior Department. He has a weakness, for example, for saunas. As governor of Alaska, he installed one in his home, another at the governor's mansion.

One of his first moves in Washington was to order a sauna for the Interior Department. The taxpayers built it for him in a basement gymnasium just a few steps from his private elevator, which is kept locked like one of those exclusive speak-easies that grant admission only to keyholders.

All Interior Department employees are

supposed to have access to the Secretary's sauna, but only the favored few dare to venture inside its paneled walls for a scrub-down. The real scrubbing, of course, was administered to the taxpayers who were stuck with the \$3,500 bill for the fancy sweatroom.

Even with a sauna in the basement, however, Hickel didn't feel completely at home in his spacious, plush-carpeted, richly paneled Interior office. He longed for the other adornments that he had installed in the governor's office and mansion in Juneau, Alaska.

He sent, therefore, for Arthur Morgan, who had done the decorating job in Alaska, to rearrange his office acreage in Washington.

FEDERAL REGULATIONS require that such work go through the General Services Administration, which has talented interior decorators already on the government payroll. However, Hickel not only brought in an outside decorator at extra cost to the taxpayers but paid him above the \$2,500 maximum that is authorized for non-competitive contracts.

Morgan already has billed the taxpayers approximately \$8,000 for his designs, long-distance phone calls, cross-country flights and other expenses. Before he is finished, his bill is expected to reach \$10,000, the other \$18,000 will go for construction.

Gauzza stammeringly admitted to my associate, Les Whitten, that he had neither sought bids or negotiated the refurbishing contract with full public notice, as required by law.

Morgan, reached in Seattle, said Hickel had him fly to Washington to design the Interior office because "we scored nicely" on the Juneau job.

"This is a modest job," he said of the refurbishing, which includes two aluminum doors for \$1,600.

Morgan is right. Compared with the trillion-dollar domains of oil, shale oil, minerals and land administered by the Interior Department, Hickel's \$28,000 remodeling is trivial. But if Hickel and his henchmen violate the law and ride roughshod over the taxpayers on a small decorating job, what assurance is there they won't do the same on the trillion-dollar deals?



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Wide World Photo

PUNCH, November 5 1969



"I don't see how three-quarters of the world can be starving
—this restaurant is always packed."

HANG THE CENTER SHEET ON YOUR BULLETIN BOARD

49,000 Homes Needed To Correct Housing²⁵

BY HILDA BRYANT

The 10,000 Oglala Sioux of the South Dakota Pine Ridge Reservation, second largest in the nation, are the proud Indian descendants of Crazy Horse, Red Cloud, Black Elk and other plains chiefs who did so much to write the legend of the noble red man.

The land they finally settled for, following bitter wars over broken treaties, includes 100,000 acres of badlands and has a mean temperature of 47 degrees which drops as low as 40 below zero in winter and shoots up to 120 degrees in summer.

Well over half of Crazy Horse's children endure these extremes today in homesteads made of sticks chinked with mud which has a "shade" of pine boughs spread over a frame made of four corner poles. Extra bedrooms for both summer and winter are wall tents thrown up on the windy plains which form the treeless yards for these primitive dwellings.

Some of the log shacks have two rooms. Light comes from kerosene lamps. Information comes not via telephone but through moccasin grapevine.

There is no plumbing. Water is hauled more than a quarter mile or else dipped from closer ponds, streams and hogs — invariably contaminated. Usually a root cellar, a corral and an outhouse are located somewhere near the house and its sleeping tents.

Although there is an ambitious new housing program now transforming this

rural Sioux families. Until a network of roads can be built by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) there will be no electricity, running water or plumbing for many of these new houses.

It's a problem Eugene Rooks is working on. He is the Sioux director of the Tribal Housing Authority. He already has requested from the BIA "one of the biggest road building projects ever conceived for a reservation." But he has other options if the network of roads is a bit delayed in arriving.

Rooks explained: "The people who need houses the most are the older Indians and they do not want to live in low rent houses. They prefer to live in what they call their 'tegmima' (a Sioux word for the tiny log houses described above) on their own land.

"They say, 'This is my land. I have lived here all my life and I want to continue to live here until I die.' So what we are trying to do for them is to build them houses on their land without modern plumbing or such."

"We will make their houses better than what they have but they will be far less expensive than a modern house. Public Health will have to approve every site we select before we will build. This way we won't end up with houses in places where we can't service them with water and electricity."

Rooks is talking about "transition housing," an experiment tried by the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the Rosebud Sioux Reservation just east of Pine Ridge. In less than two years 375 transitional houses which had bathrooms but few other amenities and cost (with plumbing and electricity) \$4,300 each, were built and sold for \$10 down, to extremely poor Sioux families.

The Indian owners pay for

their transitional homes at \$5 per month over a five-year period. They have two bedrooms, a living-dining room and a kitchen in addition to the bathroom. They are insulated. What's more, most of the owner-families were employed in the construction of the units.

Surveys since the project was completed show that about a quarter of the new owner-families have put in lamps and desks for study purposes, 32 per cent have bought washing machines and a whopping 78 per cent have purchased sheets and towels for the first time and were using their bathtubs at least twice a week.

As a result hospital admissions at Rosebud are down 30 per cent and the daily patient census is down almost 40 per cent.

Before the transitional housing experiment at Rosebud these very poor people had been living in dilapidated log huts, small army tents, flimsy tar paper shacks, abandoned chicken brooders, tumbledown huts and occasionally, an automobile body.

Rusty cream cans were used for water storage since water had to be hauled from long distances. Most of the floors were made of dirt which became soaked and muddy during rain because the roofs leaked. In winter walls were plugged with mud and cardboard. The incidence of tuberculosis among Rosebud people in 1965, just before the project was launched, was 18 times higher than the rest of the nation's and nearly three times as high as the rate on all Indian reservations.

William Carmack, assistant commissioner of community services for the BIA, estimates that it would take 49,000 new houses and 19,000 repaired houses to "clean up the Indian housing dilemma in one fell swoop."

He said the 49,000 homes involves the replacement of the present 35,000 Indian homes that are not repairable plus 14,000 for Indian

families who have no home at all.



However, the budget request he submitted for 1970 will repair only 3,750 Indian homes and build only 200.

Carmack asked, in addition, for 1970 seed money to help the tribes take advantage of HUD housing called Turnkey III. This program replaces what has been a sweat equity effort called mutual help housing. With Turnkey the Indian families can move into the finished house earlier and through their maintenance of it they can contribute to the equity.

HUD housing on reservations now under construction is expected to total 4,000 units by the end of this year. This total includes mutual help housing, low rent housing and the new

Seattle Post-Intelligencer Sun., Nov. 30, 1969

Turnkey projects.

The dismal housing conditions do not exist exclusively on isolated Dakota reservations. Wisconsin Indians are not geographically isolated but the reservation housing generally lacks plumbing and sanitation facilities, has no furnaces, offers little or no privacy, is much too small per unit to meet the minimum needs of the families. On some reservations such as Winnebago, the houses are apt to be wigwams or hogans made of bent birch saplings and covered with tar paper.

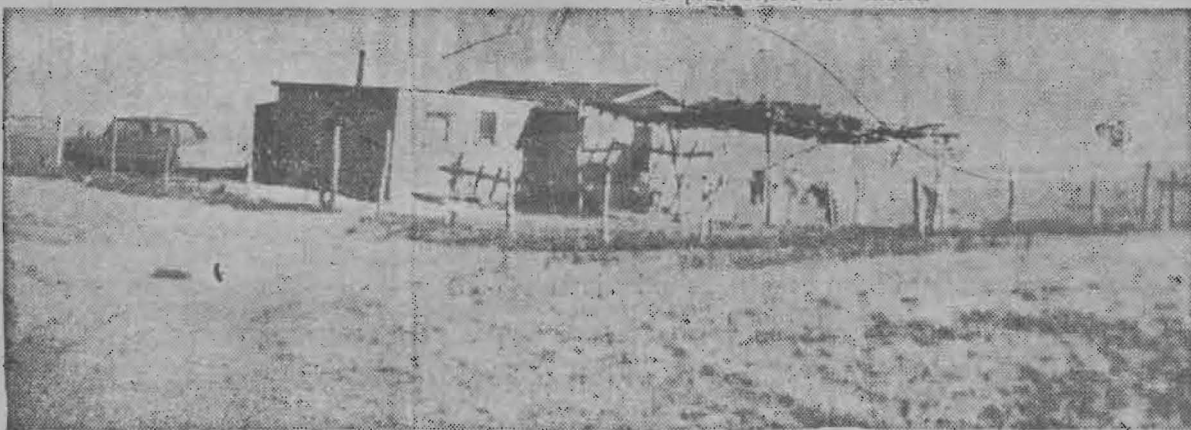
Many Stockbridge-Munsee Indians are still living in homes built or remodeled in the '30s with WPA funds. The Mole Lake Chippewa Indians received 18 houses from the government in the '30s but none of them have been maintained by the government since. Because they are located on untaxable land it is virtually impossible for the Indians to get repair loans. The low

income of most Indians makes private loans out of the realm of possibility.

In most cases the Indians do not own the house nor the land on which it stands. This lack of ownership coupled with the fact that the house was put there by the government in the first place has led the Indian to think that the government has the responsibility of maintenance. T. Indian holds the idea that since the building belongs to the government and he is merely a tenant he has no responsibility to make repairs. Besides, he can barely scrape together enough money for groceries; house repairs will have to wait.



JULIA POKIBRO, a Shoshone-Bannock Indian, stood before her former home on the Fort Hall, Idaho, reservation (above). This house is typical of reservation residences across the nation. Below, Mrs. Pokibro and her granddaughter stood before her new home which the Tribal Housing Authority built for her under a special Bureau of Indian Affairs-Housing and Urban Development Mutual Help Housing project. Mutual Help homes for poverty-stricken Indians are slowly turning reservation slums into attractive housing developments.



A SIOUX "TEGMIMA," OR TINY LOG HOUSE, CLINGS TO THE BARREN, WINDY SOUTH DAKOTA PRAIRIE. Almost half of the Oglala Sioux on the Pine Ridge Reservation have this type of home.



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books

THE INDIANS OF TEXAS IN 1830. By Jean Louis Berlandier. Edited by John C. Ewers. Translated by Patricia Reading Leclercq. Illustrated. Smithsonian Institution Press. 209 pp. \$10.

By Ronnie Dugger

BOOK WORLD December 28, 1969

The first publication of a humane and literate French scientist's manuscript about the Indians on the Texas frontier is a triumph for the Smithsonian Institution and its senior ethnologist, John C. Ewers, and more importantly for a fair perspective on the native Americans. Until now this book has been overlooked by anthropologists.

As Ewers points out, more Indian tribes lived in Texas during historic times than in any other state. It follows that responsible study of the Indians of Texas has broad implications for human nature. These Indians, as Jean Louis Berlandier knew them, were hardy, intelligent, and loyal to codes that are readily understandable. Seen through Berlandier's dispassionate sensibility, even their utterly hideous cruelties to captured enemies can be comprehended in terms of our contemporary knowledge of, say, Germany's murders of the Jews, Britain's fire bombings of Dresden, and our country's atomic bombings. The Indians 140 years ago had much generous community, some of their customs about women might give a hippie pause, and their religious rites were little more bizarre than, viewed as objectively, ours.

I do not wish to summarize Berlandier's work, but to pass along a few examples of it, much as one reads a little aloud to tweak onward anyone who might care to have more than the samples.

The American natives [Berlandier wrote] bear a multitude of privations no European could survive. Those who live in the temperate, cold, or hot regions of Mexico tolerate all climatic and seasonal extremes, the fatigue of long journeys on foot or on horseback, and above all the pangs of hunger.

Their acts are not dictated by simple, primitive instincts, and the observer who has followed them in the deserts is continually struck with admiration at how highly developed their senses are, amid all the perils that surround their daily lives, and at how obviously intelligent they are. True, their thinking and all their actions are limited to such things as are needful for their survival or for the destruction of their enemies; but what more can one ask of men who live in the midst of the deserts?

Even in the depths of the forest, even in the heart of the desert, man lives in society. Those beings upon whom we have pinned the badge of "savages" because they fled from what they did not know are often more closely united with each other than those who live in our cities and villages. In the solitudes of the New World, where one can ride for hundreds of leagues without discerning a single trace of human creatures, live great peoples, distant from one another, but speaking the same language. Though subdivided into tribes of a hundred or so families, they lend aid to each other. Though they must hunt for food in the forests and lead a nomadic existence, they never separate. . . . All the natives in Texas live together like this, and no one has ever encountered such a thing as solitary individuals who spend their lives wandering alone without belonging to some society.

BLESSINGWAY, By Leland C. Wyman (University of Arizona Press: 660 pages, \$19.50).

"Blessingway" has been called "the backbone of the Navajo religion." It has been difficult to penetrate.

But now three versions have been published by the University of Arizona Press after many years of labor and difficulty in financing. The Navajo Tribal Council once sought to finance the publication but was dissuaded by outside forces.

What has resulted is a thick closely-printed book of great importance.

The basic work was done by the Rev. Bernard Haile, O.F.M. But even when he neared death he would not permit publication because he said it was not ready.

The father's manuscripts, notes and translations were acquired by the University of Arizona Special Collections and the St. John Baptist Province of Cincinnati.

They were prepared for publication by Wyman, a professor at Boston University and an Indian expert in his own right.

—The Associated Press

THE CANADIAN INDIAN, by Fraser Simington, McClelland and Stewart.

By GEORGE BEAVER

To many Canadians, an Indian is an Indian. They expect a Mohawk of Ontario to be the same as a Kutchin of the Yukon, who lives more than 3,000 miles away. They may speak the same language.

Fraser Simington's book, *The Canadian Indian*, sets the record straight.

Fraser Simington succeeds in painting a picture of the Indian as a human, living in relationship to a real environment. Thankfully, and at long last, he is portrayed neither as a "noble redskin" nor as a war-like savage.

The reader learns early that not all Indians were a huge feather head-dress, that they didn't all live in teepees, and they didn't all live the same sort of romantic life most people associate with them. There are pictures, engravings and photographs galore to brighten up almost every page.

The *Canadian Indian* is a good introductory book more useful for popular reading than as a textbook for teachers.

One of the few valid criticisms of the book — and this offended me as an Indian — was the frequent reference to Indian women as "squaws."

The term is widely used by Canadians and perhaps to some tribes it has no connotation other than Indian women but to the Six Nations it is a derogatory term which refers not to the sex of the person but to the female organ itself.

The manuscript for this book was prepared at the request of the department of Indian affairs and the result was a book about Indians of uniform excellence.

Perhaps the best compliment that could be paid the author is that he sincerely attempted to present an Indian point of view — unlike most books about Indians — and he succeeded so that only an Indian could have done better.

GERONIMO'S Story of His Life, a simple, dignified account of the Apache warrior and his people, was originally dictated at the turn of the century. S.M. Barrett, superintendent of Education in Lawton, Oklahoma, had to get personal permission from Teddy Roosevelt and his top army officials to take down Geronimo's autobiography, because local cavalry officers feared any publicity that might stir up old animosities between the Oklahoman settlers and the Apaches. Now, more than 60 years later, the book has been re-published by Garrett Press.

There are 500 copies of the 1970 edition (\$11.95) and they may be ordered from Garrett Press, 250 West 54th Street.

AMERICAN INDIAN MEDICINE, By Virgil J. Vogel (University of Oklahoma Press: \$12.50).

It may be difficult for some persons to accept the fact that the Indians, long before Columbus reached America, were superior in medicine and surgery to the doctors in Europe. But certain learned tomes point this up rather sharply.

Now, Virgil J. Vogel of Chicago City College — and an authority on Indians — has compiled a book about just how Indian medicine has contributed to modern knowledge.

He notes that about 170 Indian medicines, mostly botanical, are in the standard works of pharmacology.

Vogel doesn't go into psychiatry very deeply, but enough to show that witch doctors, seriously overemphasized in modern literature, were pretty good psychiatrists themselves.

It is a monumental work which gives fair play to the intelligence of the Indian physicians.

—The Associated Press

THE DEATH AND REBIRTH OF THE SENECA

by Anthony F. C. Wallace

Knopf, 384 pp., \$8.95

SR/JANUARY 24, 1970

AND GOD SAID MOREOVER unto Moses, "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel; the Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you." No one knows how many nameless prophets had struggled during centuries of darkness and oppression to produce that day. What is important is that the tribes of Israel did survive. In the same situation, trapped in an alien culture, the Seneca produced the religion of Handsome Lake and today are producing the ideas that are binding the diverse Indian tribes into one nation.

Contemporary observers of the American Indian spend their time in idle speculation anticipating the day when the Vanishing American leaves the arena of world history forever. There is feverish activity, therefore, to record all conceivable quirks of this quaint people before the curtain falls. Thus far only Frank Waters and Peter Powell have pierced the buckskin curtain to glimpse the religious nature of Indian nationalism. Anthony F. C. Wallace has come extremely close to understanding the Red Power movement with this work on the Seneca and the religion of Handsome Lake. But his field work ended in 1956 and so, deprived of contemporary data, he has stopped just at the point where it gets interesting. The Red Power boys are not talking about demonstrations, confrontations and revolutions. They are talking about walking on water. In the Hebrew tradition it's not a laughing matter.

The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca is an incisive and well-documented work concerning the rise of the Longhouse religion among the Iroquois, particularly the Seneca in the beginning decades of the last century. Part I of the book is devoted to a general description of Iroquois society in its pristine pre-white state. (Anthropologists have a tendency when describing Indian tribes to plow familiar ground before beginning to tell their story.) Parts II and III then cover the historical period of the decline of the Iroquois as a balance of power brokerage house in the French and English struggle over North America. With this decline comes the rise of the Longhouse religion as an effort to create stability within Iroquois society.

Indian tribes see life as an integrated whole and thus events are not categorized according to their religious, political, economic or sociological significance. Wallace understands the nature of the Indian world view, and skillfully works the major events of Seneca life into a consistent presentation of the life of Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet, and the development of the Longhouse religion. The quarrel over land cessions, the recurring problem with alcohol, the jealousy between the influential men of the tribes, the problems with witchcraft, and the vulnerability of the Indian leaders to bribery are objectively presented so that the struggle of a people in cultural chaos comes clearly to the reader's attention.

The understanding role of the Quakers in Seneca life is particularly well portrayed. From the first contacts to the recent tragic and losing fight to save the Seneca lands from Kinzua Dam, the Friends have ever been friends to Indian people. Wallace credits this favorable relationship to the Quakers' conviction that every human being entertains an inner light that evinces itself as the voice of natural conscience. It is a lesson that most Christian churches are only now beginning to learn. In education the Quakers, as Wallace relates, emphasized the communication of concepts and avoided superficial and playful imitation. What they brought to the Indian people were technical skills that had substantial practical values—an achievement as yet unattained by federal and state educators. [See article on American Indian education, page 54.]

Most informative is the description of the role of Red Jacket, the famous Seneca leader, in the formation of the Handsome Lake religion. His well-



Courtesy of The New York Historical Society
Seneca family (1807): They survived

known speech to the Reverend Mr. Cram, asking that Christianity be first tried on whites, is classic and still characterizes much of the mood of Indian traditionalists toward the mewlings of the missionaries.

In describing the four tenets of the Longhouse religion, Wallace fails to note that the problems Handsome Lake attempted to solve in 1801 are the dominant themes of contemporary Indian affairs. Concern over alcoholism was the first and most important social problem which the religion faced, and Handsome Lake strongly opposed drink because of its degrading influence on the tribe. Today the Jicarilla Apache and Standing Rock Sioux have outstanding programs against alcoholism and most tribes are vitally concerned over this problem.

The second tenet was peace and social unity of the tribe with the correlative doctrine that good feelings must be preserved between Indians and whites. In the Hopi Traditionalist movement of today, led by Thomas Banyaca, this attitude still remains. It is polluted by the treacherous policies promoted by people who desire Indians' lands for their own.

The third tenet was the preservation of the Indian land base, which is the burning issue of our time. Only by accepting the Seneca understanding of man—that peoples are equal but have a right to be different—can non-Indians understand that there is no conflict between the desire for peace and understanding and the struggle to maintain the land base.

The solution for Indian people as proposed by the fourth major theme of the Longhouse religion was education. Handsome Lake advised his followers that "so many white people are about you that you must study to know their ways." It is, as many readers will recognize, the same solution Indians have advocated today. In short, one can understand the contemporary Indian movement for self-determination by understanding the rise of Handsome Lake and the Longhouse religion. But this is possible only for the astute reader who is willing to throw off his preconceived ideas about Indians and relate the events of the book to the present struggle of Indian people to maintain their lands and communities.

In a society mildly unsettled by the My Lai massacre and forgetful of the massacres of Wounded Knee and Sand Creek, this history of the reconstitution of the Seneca Nation may not mean much. Certainly Wallace's continual characterization of the Longhouse People as "pagans" does not indicate that he views Handsome Lake as more than a historical figure, or that modern Senecas whom he describes in his first chapter are doing anything beyond thoughtlessly repeating the rituals of a dead religion. Frank Waters and Peter Powell know full well what Indian nationalism means and anxiously scan the horizon for the Indian Moses. Wallace, like the priests of Pharaoh, energetically describes the times of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, but never asks himself what it all means.

Vine Deloria, Jr.

Vine Deloria, Jr., is the author of "Custer Died for Your Sins."

Western Stars Not So Wild About Rodeo's Europe Tour

ROME (AP) — The Rodeo Far West, billed as the biggest spectacular to hit the Continent since Buffalo Bill did his thing in 1902, is playing to empty seats in the Italian corral.

Fewer than 500 spectators turned up for the Sunday night performance in Rome's 12,000-seat Palazzo dello Sport, the first stop on the European trail for the gold-hunting posse of 125 cowboys, 25 Indians and 350 horses and steers.

CRITICS BAD HOMBRES

Brought up on a diet of gun-slitting, tepee-burning spaghetti westerns, Roman audiences whistled their impatience at the twilight-on-the-trail pageantry of the Old West. They also failed to understand the skills involved in bronco-busting and Brahma bull riding, which they mis-

took for trained animal acts.

Italian critics also turned out to be bad hombres. Influential papers like *Il Messaggero* and *Corriere della Sera* thought the doings down at the transplanted Ponderosa were pretty doloroso, or "slow and grotesque" as one put it.

In an attempt to lasso more customers, head wrangler Buster Ivory is cutting out the campfire scene and several Indian dances and substituting a hanging and a Sioux raid on a wagon train.

However, the 25 Indians in the company, already on the warpath over the food and the lack of hot water in their Roman wigwam, are hostile to the substitution of violence for folk dancing.

DIET PROBLEMS

"The boys are very uptight

about this," said Paul Randall Plume, a Sioux from the Standing Rock Reservation at Fort Yates, N.D. "The trouble is half of them can't ride."

The \$1.5-million production has professional rodeo riders competing for \$100,000 in prizes.

"Aquila Nera," or Black Eagle, touted as the direct descendant of "Toro Seduto," (Sitting Bull) had to return Stateside because Italian food worsened his diabetic condition. Alvin Horse-Looking, another Sioux from the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota, put on so much weight from packing away the pasta he looked more like Enrico Caruso stepping on stage in Puccini's "Girl of the Golden West" than one of the "savage redskins" the Romans had been promised.

Yesno stars in CBC pow-wow

MARCH 28, 1970

By R. J. ANDERSON

TORONTO — (CP) — Most whites know nothing about Indians, says Indian Johnny Yesno, and Indians know little about each other.

He assesses himself: "I'm a broker of information."

Whites and Indians learn a little more about each other each Saturday through this honest broker, in a CBC radio program devoted to the problems of Canada's native peoples.

They're in the North — along with the Eskimos — on the prairies, in Ontario, on the British Columbia coast, the Maritimes. The Metis, the half-breeds, scattered across northern Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, listen, too.

So do the whites, an estimated 100,000 of them, says Producer John Barbarash, who each week scours the

country seeking Indian talent.

His vehicle is Indian Magazine. It's 50 minutes once a week on the CBC trans-Canada radio network.

Host is Johnny Yesno, a 29-year-old Indian actor who won a best-actor award in the Wojack television series in 1966 and stars in a soon-to-be-released Walt Disney movie.

Of Magazine, Yesno said in an interview:

"We expose bad situations when we find them and also inform Indians what rights they have and what resources are open to them."

"The majority of Ontario's 54,000 Indians are hidden away from the social conscience and they have been snowed so often that they have built up their own wall of hatred and suspicion."

Yesno is an Ojibway, born on a reserve near Fort Hope, in northwestern Ontario about 300 miles west of Moose

Factory on James Bay. He was sent to a government school in Sioux Lookout and didn't like it. At the age of 11, he ran away.

"Everyone ran away," he says. "The teachers didn't understand us and we didn't understand them."

Yesno got the starring role in *King of the Grizzlies* — the title was changed from *Autobiography of a Grizzly* — because the producers "were looking for an honest-to-goodness Injun and someone saw a tape of the Wojack show and they asked me."

Yesno, who has a wisp of a beard and a moustache, emphasizes that the title of the movie "refers to the bear, not to me."

The film took two years to shoot. As Yesno says:

"There was a lot of standing around and waiting while the bears decided what they were supposed to do. They have a strong union."



Iroquois and Navajo maidens appear in silk organza. The purple, green, yellow and red gowns have beaded necklines, cuffs and waistlines. Note the beaded earrings, also by Brooks.

DAILY NEWS, FEBRUARY 13, 1970

TRIPS and TREATS

"America has much to learn about the heritage of our American Indians. Only through this study can we as a nation do what must be done if our treatment of the American Indian is not to be marked down for all time as a national disgrace."

John F. Kennedy, 1917-1963

Most Americans have a flaky, one dimension image of the Amerindian that is distorted with sentimentality, the propaganda of historians and gleaned mostly from movie-TV oat burners. The picture needs to be re-drawn. An excellent way to begin is to visit the Museum of the American Indian.

The museum has undergone a complete face-lifting. New displays and lighting techniques have been added and the things to be seen overwhelm young visitors until they settle down into small groups before their favorite exhibits.

Floor after floor of the museum fleshes-out the history of America's first citizens. Display upon display reveals how they worshipped, lived, played and fought.

Stereotype Contradicted

A new exhibit, "Indians of the Far West and Canada," underlines the aesthetic quality of Indian handicrafts. Copper ceremonial masks, wood carvings, ivory animal charms, exquisite silver jewelry, elaborate quill-work costumes give visitors an insight into the soul of the Red Man that contradicts the stereotype of a cruel savage.

The "Indian Games" area is a reminder that American Indians were expert in wrestling, ball games, racing and archery. Their footballs, like none we've ever seen before, are colorful leather spheres decorated with reed and delicate beadwork. A child's sled, made of animal rib bones and hide shares floor space with a collection of snake poles used in a winter game. The long, wooden poles were flung across ice and snow and their final slithering motions named the game.

An awesome Eagle Dancer of the British Columbian Kwakiutle tribe, resplendent in feathered costume and mask, attracts his own kiddie-fan club. And, a swarm of children can always be found around a gargantuan serving bowl once used for feasts by the Kwakiutle tribe. The intricately carved wooden cauldron, containing a ladle large enough to sit in, provided king-size meals of walrus, seals and giant salmon for an entire tribe.

A display devoted to the potlatch, a ceremony popular among Northwest coast tribes, is a guaranteed crowd collector. It depicts an Alaskan Tlingit chief sitting amid all the finery his tribesmen could collect—furs, chests, blankets and baskets—in readiness for an Indian version of a putdown.

The Museum of the American Indian is situated at Broadway and 155th St. and is open from 1 to 5 p.m. Tuesdays through Sundays. Closed Mondays and holidays. Admission is free.

By Jo Martin

Indians Fund A New Film

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
APR. 4, 1970

Hollywood

Members of the Jicarilla Apache tribal council, back in Dulce, N.M., were looking for an investment opportunity. One of them read in the newspaper that Kirk Douglas and Johnny Cash would be starring together in a western. It would be filmed in Spain. It would be financed by Europeans.

Tribal accountant J. Gabriel Abeyta got right on the phone to Hollywood. To Ronald Rubin, who would be one of the producers of the Douglas-Cash movie to be called "A Gunfight," Mr. Abeyta said succinctly, "We'd like to finance your picture."

In 48 hours, the Jicarilla Apaches had agreed to put up \$2 million, without any of the strings that have recently been tying up much Hollywood production in hard knots. Mr. Lubin and Mr. Douglas told a big press conference, attended by Indians as well as moviemakers, that the arrangement may set a new pattern for Hollywood financing.

Mr. Abeyta said that in the late 1940's, they became "financially independent." Their new wealth came from timber, gas, and oil. Their 1,779 members decided not to divide up the income but to use it for tribal advancement. They're not rich individually, observed Mr. Abeyta, but neither are they hungry.

Mr. Bloom has written the original screenplay—a suspense story, an 1885 western set in Texas. But it will now be filmed in Santa Fe. And although it's a western, there aren't any cattle in it, noted Mr. Bloom, and there are only a few horses.

Indians?
Not one!



FRINGE, SUEDE, BEADS, and SHADES. An Indian fashion show.

Voice: Fred McDarragh

RECORDS



REDBONE (Epic EGP 501).

This double-album set by Redbone, the record industry's first Indian rock band, arrives with a minimum of fanfare and a maximum of good, good music. Compounded of four West Coast mixed-bloods in their mid-twenties, Redbone now lays rightful claim to the "swamp-rock" sound made popular by groups like Creedence, but actually "invented" some years ago by Redbone's Vegas Brothers when they wrote "Niki Hokey." Pat Vegas had at that time found a book telling of those same Louisiana-area Indians and their place in the Cajun history of the region. The Vegases translated this history into a musical style, found two other Indian musicians of like mind, took a name based on the Cajun epithet *rehbone* meaning a half-breed (in its Anglicized form, *redbone*, actually being the local equivalent of "nigger"), holed up in house for a year rehearsing rigorously—and have now emerged triumphantly with their "primitive," hypnotic, beautiful backwoods sound. —ROLLING STONE

... Mike Cimino, who's already made a name for himself doing tv commercials, is now about to direct a film about an American Indian boy for Universal Pictures. The movie, "Conquering Horse," will be filmed on the famous Rosebud reservation in South Dakota with a predominantly Indian cast and the cooperation of the Sioux Nation. The finished film should be especially popular in South Dakota, since it will be done entirely in the Sioux language, with English sub-titles.

the village VOICE, March 12, 1970

The California Reservations 28

By Michael Harris

Eighty-four reservations, large and small, are left in California, and on some of them the script is surprisingly old-fashioned.

Two months ago the women at Sulphur Bank in Lake county took down the family shotguns, marched toward the shore of Clerk Lake and aimed the barrels at a telephone company work crew.

No shots were fired at the moving targets. While the women cocked life guns, the telephone men fled to their boat and shoved off to safety, leaving a valuable coil of copper wire behind.

CLAIM

The wire is still there on the shore. And the company has not pursued its plans to run a cable across the Sulphur Bank rancheria to Rattlesnake Island, which the Indians claim as an ancestral home.

It is not every day that visitors, from the telephone company or anywhere else, come to the little rancheria. The half dozen or so families in Sulphur Bank live in isolation on the east shore of Clear Lake about 100 miles north of San Francisco.

To get there, it is necessary to drive past a pair of signs warning visitors to stay out and to continue down a narrow, unpaved road.

WATER

The residents have to drive into Clearlake Oaks, several miles to the north, to get household water. The community water lines come within three-quarters of a mile of the rancheria, and efforts to have them extended have dragged on for years.

The one-story homes are decidedly simple. A federally financed program to bring the structures into conformity with standard building codes ended when Lake county authorities withdrew their approval after only one house had been modernized.

But there are compensations. The 50 acres occupied by Sulphur Bank are beautiful and unspoiled.

ELECTRICITY

And the rancheria has some modern conveniences. Unlike some areas occupied by California Indians, Sulphur Bank has electricity. Its residents don't have to rely on transistor radios for entertainment but can share the delights of television available to their white neighbors.

It is not a self-contained community. There are no stores. The children take the bus to public school each week day, and the men who find jobs have to leave the rancheria for nearby ranches and towns.

Some reservations are even closer to urban centers. The Kashia Reservation is a 40-acre settlement with about 10 families who live in heavily wooded hills four miles from the Pacific Coast in northern Sonoma county.

SIZE

The reservations range in size, from tiny rancherias to large areas like the rambling of Hoppa Valley Reservation and Hoppa Extension in eastern Humboldt county. Together the Hoppa areas occupy 145 square miles of forest and meadow along the Trinity river.

In all, the reservations occupy a total of 1200 square miles and provide homes for

about 10 per cent of the State's 100,000 Indians.

But it is not surprising that most Californians are scarcely aware of their existence. Except for the Agua Caliente Reservation, which is partly within the city limits of Palm Springs, and some other reservations in the most southerly parts of the State, most of the settlements can be reached only after hard drives along back roads.

Some are along the Nevada and Arizona borders, including the 200-square-mile Colorado River Reservation, the largest in the State. Many of the small rancherias are in forests near the northern coast.

And they are surprisingly prosaic in appearance. Most of the large reservations are broken into checkerboards of alternating white and Indian ownership. The stores and buildings look like any other structures in rural California.

The one thing the reservations appear to have in common is that disputes with the Bureau of Indian Affairs seem to be raging in just about all 84 of them.

TREES

In San Diego county, for example, Josephine Jackson, a member of the Pala Band of Mission Indians, watched her fruit trees die.

The loss seemed unnecessary. Congress had voted \$20,000 in 1965 and another \$20,000 the next year to repair the broken irrigation system on her reservation. But the money wasn't used.

In spite of continued appeals by Mrs. Jackson and other Indians, 14 years have gone by since the Bureau of Indian Affairs has spent a dollar in bringing water to a single Indian on the reservation.

WHITE

After Mrs. Jackson gave up in despair, the Bureau promptly installed a new water line at government expense for the present owner, a white man. It still hasn't installed any pipes to Indian-owned property.

"I grant you there is emotionalism in this," William E. Finale, area director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, said in Sacramento. "The only comment I have is that the buyer was assured by the Bureau that he would get water."

California Indian Legal Services, an agency financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity to provide aid for Indians who can't afford lawyers, protested.

SUIT

"It is untenable that Congress might have intended that the money could be expended for the sole benefit of a non-Indian," a lawsuit filed on behalf of the Pala Indians said.

But U.S. District Judge Edward J. Schwartz, who heard the case in San Diego, accepted the argument offered on behalf of the Bureau on Indian Affairs.

"Nowhere is it specified," Judge Schwartz ruled, "that moneys can be expended (on the reservation) solely for the benefit of Indians."

CASES

There are many other cases.

For example, the Indians at Guidiville, a Pomo settlement in the Mendocino county hills east of Ukiah



A typical Indian home on the Laytonville rancheria in Mendocino county

made an agreement with the Bureau of Indian Affairs several years ago.

For their part, the residents of Guidiville agreed to "terminate" themselves — in short, to give up their special status as reservation Indians. An Indian on a reservation, like an Army colonel who lives in the Presidio, does not have to pay local property taxes.

LAW

The Bureau then agreed to follow the terms of a law that say all terminated rancherias were entitled to a reliable water supply.

U.S. District Judge Stanley A. Weigel said in San Francisco recently he couldn't find "a scrap of evidence" that the Bureau of Indian Affairs had made any efforts to comply with the law.

Evidence showed that the bacteria count in the water was 500 times greater than the health code allowed. And in the summer, the water supply to the rancheria dried up completely.

JUDGE

"Simple justice, it would seem to me, requires that the water be provided," the judge said.

"The image of government officials meeting their statutory and moral obligations would be a fine precedent."

While awaiting a final ruling, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been shipping water into Guidiville by truck. At last reports, only two truckloads failed to meet California health standards for purity.

Some abuses by the Bureau of Indian Affairs have attracted national attention. Congress appropriated \$978,000 to repair damage to Indian homes caused by the 1964 Northern California floods, but the Bureau diverted \$190,000 to its Phoenix office, \$40,000 to Montana for snow shelters, and \$40,760 for headquarters in Washington.

A lot of the money that was left for California was wasted.

New water lines were laid in the Hoppa Valley Reservation. But the government used plastic pipe and laid it on the ground. Wild pigs and bears, attracted by the sound of gurgling water, bit holes

in the lines and made them useless.

In the Hoppa Extension, all-electric homes were built for flooded-out Indians at Johnson's Village — 20 miles from the nearest electric line. Indian residents claim the walls are warping and the ceilings buckling, with the wind coming through the walls and the rain through the roofs.

Potentially the most significant legal cases involving California Indians is the claim of the Rincon and La Jolla Indians that water needed to irrigate their desert reservations in the foothills below Mount Palomar in San Diego county is being diverted illegally.

An agreement signed in 1914 when a water company was permitted to put a powerhouse and dam on the Rincon reservation assures the Indians six cubic feet of water per second for use on the two reservations.

PROMISES

But records show that since the wet winter of 1943 the water company has delivered the agreed-upon amount during only two months — May, 1958, and March, 1962. It has given the Indians an average of only about one-sixth the promised amount.

A government attorney, asked why the Bureau of Indian Affairs had made no effort to enforce the water agreement it had sponsored, issued a reply a couple of months ago.

The diversion of water, he said, hadn't been all bad for the Indians.

The Indians had been provided with some free electric power, he said. And he added — in words that no one could contest — they had been assured "the certainty of future flood protection."

The statistics are pitifully sketchy. But even if a low figure like 15,000 Indians in San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose is accepted, there are more Indians in the Bay Area alone than on the 84 reservations that still remain in California.

And almost daily there are more Indians arriving in the Bay Area as a result of the

efforts of recruiters from the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs.

PROSPECTS

The prospects are found on reservations in the Southwest, the Dakotas and even Alaska. Government agents promise them jobs or education, decent housing and a good life in the city. And then the recruiters issue one-way tickets to California to Indians they persuade to make the trip.

This official government policy of getting Indians off the reservations and into the big cities has proved so effective that out-of-state Indians in California outnumber native California Indians today by a substantial margin.

Though the policy may have proved a success as far as the government is concerned, it has produced misfortune for many of the clients. Many Indians have discovered disappointment and poverty in their new homes.

PROMISES

And they have also found that there are no guarantees to back up the agents' golden promises.

There is no glamor for them. These new arrivals don't share the worldwide attention given the comparatively small, lively group of young men and women who are attempting to establish a permanent base in Alcatraz.

Instead, there is the prospect of poverty in new surroundings. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is able to chalk up a record of "success" in getting a growing number of Indians off its hands. But in many cases this means merely graduating from the dole on the reservation to a new career of seeking county welfare in California.

In 1964 and 1965, for example, the Alameda county Department of Welfare was confronted with the problem of getting 10 to 12 Indian families back to Alaska.

"I told the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 'You brought them here, you take care of them,'" said Marguerite West, section supervisor in the county welfare department.

FUNDS

"But the bureau said they

have only funds for bringing Indians here and no funds for returning them."

The county finally supplied the families with bus tickets to Seattle and plane tickets costing about \$150 per adult for the rest of the trip home.

Mrs. West, who is married to a Cheyenne Indian, has sent other Indians back to other reservations over the years.

"I've called the Bureau of Indian Affairs and asked if they couldn't make a better selection," Mrs. West said. "They have brought in Indians with complete records of alcoholism and even some handicapped with epilepsy."

"My brother-in-law was working in the relocation program back east. He was so upset with the process he quit his job."

BAV

The disappointments often come quickly.

Francis Allen, a Sac and Fox from Oklahoma, came to the Bay Area in 1958.

"They used to come around and try to get me out on relocation, and I finally accepted," said Allen, who now lives in Oakland.

He was put up in a boarding house in San Francisco, and was told to wait in the Bureau of Indian Affairs employment office until he got a work assignment.

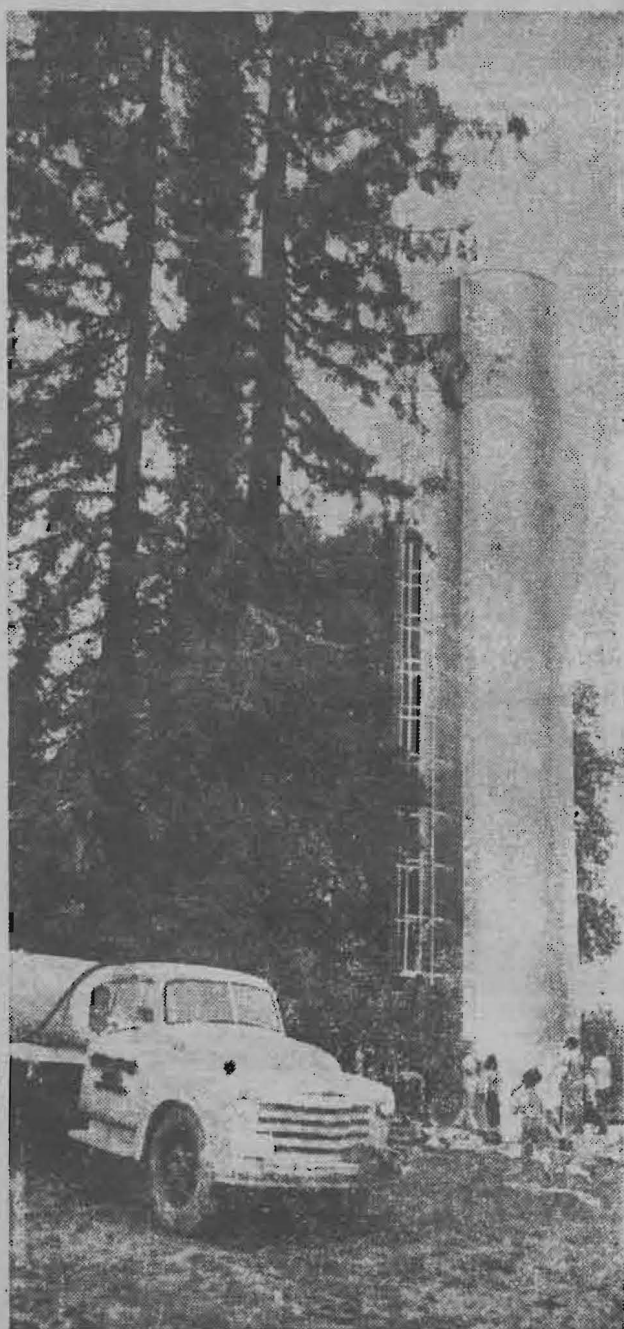
"The Bureau of Indians Affairs finally got me a job washing dishes one day a week in a waffle shop," he said.

Allen later found himself a berth in the merchant marine.

Gerry and Florence Runnels expected to find prosperity in the Bay Area when Runnels, a Sioux Indian, brought his wife and three children to Oakland last September and immediately went to work as a welder.

After a month, he was laid off in a plant reduction. The Runnels, and their children, Teddy, 10, Raymond, 5, and Gerry Jr., 3, have been living on welfare ever since.

The only point in contention is whether the successes in the attempt to put the Indians into the mainstream of urban life and "Americanize" them outweigh the tragedies.



Toy Tank

For some time Indian children have been using the unfilled 35,000-gallon water tank for play. Adults, however, call it a monument to "bureaucratic inefficiency." Bee Photo

At Stewart's Point

Another Village Lacks Water

By Wallace A. Lagorio
Bee staff writer

STEWART'S POINT, Sonoma Co. — Essie Parrish, a 68-year-old American Indian, has yet to live in a house that has running water, although she has lived all her life practically within sight of the Golden Gate Bridge.

Measuring 40 acres, the reservation was settled by the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians. Today that tribe numbers 88 persons, although only 75 still live there.

Six years ago, the people here were promised a water system. Existing wells, which dry up during the summer months, were contaminated. Two years ago the project actually began, triggering much celebrating at Stewart's Point Rancheria.

The cost for installing of a pump in the Gualala River nearly a mile away, a 35,000-gallon water tank and pipe from the river to the tank and 13 connections, originally was estimated at \$20,000.

The state contributed about \$6,000 and Sonoma County pledged another

\$5,000. Public Health Service engineers first estimated that the job would require four months. That was in 1968, but the job is not completed yet. Worse, the cost has risen to more than \$70,000 and may go higher.

Children's Deaths

Mrs. Parrish remembers being warned about the bad water in the 1930s. "When you've got children to care for, you just don't have time to walk to the river," she said, "so you drink the water anyway."

Over the years she gave birth to 15 children, but only eight survived. The other seven, she says, died as infants or as young children, mainly of dysentery, and she believes the deaths were attributable to unsanitary living conditions in the village.

"We're so close and yet so far," says Butch Martufo gazing at the huge silver water tank towering near his home. "Everytime I look at that damn thing I get mad."

Pete Soto looks upon the tank as a monument to "bureaucratic inefficiency." He says the money wasted on the water project could have gone a long way toward correcting some of the housing problems at the reservation, which he described as "horrible."

Indian Boy Wins on Long Hair

A junior at Anady High School in Sebastopol will be able to continue his classes. Federal Court Judge Robert H. Peckham ruled here yesterday.

The judge restrained the school from keeping Gordon James, 17-year-old Indian, out of school because he will not cut his collar-length hair.

Young James, a 17-year-old junior, was suspended from classes Wednesday when school authorities said his hair was too long.

The youth immediately contacted California Rural Legal Assistance lawyer Martin Spiegel, who took the case to federal court yesterday claiming the boy's hair is "a vital part of his Indian Heritage."

However, Anady District Superintendent John McGrew said this morning the boy was suspended for "a day or so" last semester for the same reason and the question of "heritage" never came up before.

Dr. McGrew charged the CRLA lawyer "is looking for a case" and said the school "feels we have a reasonable dress code developed after extensive meetings with students, parents and teachers," which the County Counsel's office calls "as good as any" of the other school codes.

Young James this morning told The Press Democrat his reason for not cutting his hair—"My people wore hair like this for hundreds of years. I'm proud to be an Indian. Cutting my hair seems to mean I'm ashamed to be an Indian, and I'm not."

He said his hair has been this long only a short time because in the past his parents made him cut it.

The boy and his parents are members of the Kashia Pomo Indian tribe, but the youth said this morning the last time he was at the Stewart's Point reservation was last July 4th.

Dr. McGrew said the school wrote a letter to Mr. and Mrs. James explaining the reasons for the boy's suspension and "reviewed the boy's total school record and indicated we wanted to reassert that we've never made any decision based on his ethnic background."

However, the superintendent said the letter went on that "if we gave him special dispensation (on the question of his long hair) it would be a reverse discrimination against all other students" in the district.

LONG HAIR AN ISSUE IN 1649

PORTSMOUTH, N.H. (AP) — The length of young men's hair was already an issue in this town 320 years ago.

Magistrates of Portsmouth issued the following proclamation in 1649:

"For as much as the wearing of long hair, after the manner of ruffians and barbarous Indians, has begun to invade New England we, the magistrates, do declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against the wearing of such long hair, as against a thing uncivil and unmanly, whereby men do deform themselves and do corrupt good manners."

California Indian has short life

By HARRY NELSON

Special to The Montreal Star and The Los Angeles Times

LOS ANGELES — American Indians living in California live an average of only 42 years, according to a report on the health problems of Indians issued by the state health department.

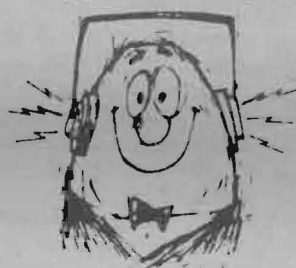
The report says the health status of Indians is "immeasurably worse" than that of other Californians. The average life span for all Californians is 62 years.

The report paints a picture of widespread alcoholism, malnutrition, poor sanitation, birth defects and infectious diseases among the estimated 100,000 Indians who live in the state, including 35,000 on "bleak, unproductive reservations."

The combined effects of physical and cultural isolation and delays in getting preventive or early treatment for illnesses results in an average hospital stay two and one-half times that of other Californians, according to the report.

It estimates that probably fewer than 10 per cent of Indians have health insurance, compared with almost 70 per cent of the medium and higher income groups. Seventy per cent of reservation families earn less than \$3,000 a year.

ARE YOU GETTING THE MESSAGE?



Indians threaten

HOOPA — A threat to close the Trinity River in the Hoopa Indian Reservation is being used by the Hoopa Tribal Council to convince state and federal agencies that tribal members have the right to transport fish and game to their homes off the reservation.

The tribal council is also demanding the right to license non-Indians to fish and take game on the reservation out of season, subject to good conservation control, says E. Richard Walker, the tribal lawyer.

Walker, a former Trinity County district attorney, now practices in Davis. Indians living on the reservation have always had the right to hunt and fish on the reservation without regard to seasons.

But tribal members who live off the reservation often find themselves charged with fish and game law violations if they're caught trying to take venison or salmon to their homes.

The 12-mile-square reservation on the Trinity allows the Indians to control a choice section of the finest fishing stream in Northern California.

Indians in 29 battle over land rights

By LEE DYE
The Times-Post Service

WARNER SPRINGS, Calif. — A classic confrontation between the Indian and the white man has developed here in one of the most peaceful settings in Southern California.

The issue involves the wealthy Fletcher family of San Diego, whose assets total several million dollars, and a small band of Cahuilla Indians, some of whom are on welfare.

Although this battle is being fought in the courts of the U.S. government, the situation bears a marked similarity to days gone by, immortalized by Hollywood westerns.

At issue is access to the Fletcher's 320-acre family retreat, Eagles Nest. The retreat is surrounded by the Los Coyotes Indian Reservation, and it is necessary to cross Indian land to reach the retreat. The Indians recently blockaded the road and denied the Fletchers access to their property. Therein lies the confrontation.

The retreat was originally homesteaded in 1888 by Hiram Keyes and Eugene Pannenberg. But the following year President Benjamin Harrison withdrew "from sale and settlement" the adjoining public land and set it apart as a reservation for the Mission Indians.

In 1906, the late Ed Fletcher purchased the land from Keyes and Pannenberg.

Five years later the federal government issued a patent to the Los Coyotes band for the land reserved by President Harrison's order of 1889. From that time on it was necessary to cross Los Coyotes land to reach the retreat.

There was no problem in the beginning. Fletcher, who had accumulated substantial wealth, rebuilt the Indian mission in nearby Warner Springs, and none of the Indians questioned his right to cross their land.

But in 1965, the Fletchers asked the Indians for a formal easement.

The Indians refused, but they said there would be no problem using the road as long as the Fletchers maintained a good relationship with the tribe.

The Fletchers continued to push for a formal easement, and last summer they asked the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of Interior to rule they have the right to cross the reservation. The BIA refused, and the Indians notified the Fletchers that they have no such right.

Late last year, a meeting was arranged between the Fletcher family and the tribe's "committee." Both sides disagree over what happened during that meeting.

Banning Taylor, spokesman for the 12 Indian families who live on the reservation, said that some of the younger men asked the Fletcher representative questions he considered impertinent, and he stormed out of the meeting.

Fletcher, however, contends that he stayed until he was ordered to leave.

At any rate, the meeting resulted in a turning point in relations between the Indians and the Fletchers.

The tribe informed the Fletchers they could continue to cross their land for \$25 a month, plus back rent totaling \$6,000, on a year-to-year basis.

The Fletchers rejected the offer, contending they needed at least a 25-year agreement, with a 25-year option.

Last Jan. 20 the family was notified by the Indians that unless an agreement was reached within 30 days, access to Eagles Nest would be closed. A month later the Indians stretched a steel cable across the road.

The Fletchers filed suit in federal court in San Diego asking the court to order Secretary of Interior Walter Hickel to issue a document granting the easement. The suit also sought an injunction to keep the Indians from blocking the road.

The court granted a temporary restraining order last month, thus allowing the Fletchers to remove the blockade. June 12 was set for a hearing

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NIYC SPONSORS PROTEST POW-WOW

GALLUP CEREMONIAL ASSOCIATION

K. Thundercloud

It is difficult to decide whether the Intertribal Ceremonial Association of Gallup, New Mexico, is composed of people who are deliberately evil or whether its members are incredibly stupid. The C.A.'s latest and most blatant example of disregard for Indians was its recent elections to its Board of Directors.

But before we discuss that, here is a historical recap to bring you up to date:

For 48 years, Gallup has paid an annual "tribute" to the American Indian by having the Indians dance for the tourists. This hoary institution is known as the Intertribal Ceremonials. For almost a half-century, it has been an unmixed blessing for the Gallup economy which probably would have collapsed without it.

Let's make this clearer:

Gallup was a coal and water stop on the Santa Fe railroad line. Thus it might have remained until the end of the steam locomotive days. But Gallup had a magic ingredient to insure its ultimate survival and success: Indians.

Gallup became a market town for the Navajos and Zunis who had no other place to stop within reasonable distance in the first place. The merchants attacked their captive consumers with the liquor store owners and the bar owners. Eventually Gallup could even support its own distributor of the cheapest wine imaginable for Indian consumption of course. And how very happy the Gallup businessmen were when they found they could sell booze on Sundays!

In gratitude to the Indian people for making their fortunes and careers possible, the Chamber of Commerce boys decided 48 years ago to stage a "tribute" to the Indians. They formed an organization which they called the Ceremonial Association. Even today, the Chamber of Commerce and the Ceremonial Association are still one and the same thing with two hats. And in true dynastic fashion, we are now seeing second generation members stepping into their dad's places on the Board of Directors.

This tribute (sic) makes the difference between financial success or failure for Gallup. Tourists are lured in to see the Indians who being royally fleeced to the tune of more than a million dollars a year.

Aside from the crypto-tribute, what does Gallup do for the Indians? Last year it promised \$20,000 to the Gallup Indian Center by means of the United Community Fund. It actually came up with less than half that amount. Now it threatens the Center with a complete cut-off of funds if criticism of the Ceremonial Association continues.

Now to get back to the elections:

The tribute (sic), performed by Indians for themselves (!), is directed by a 12-member governing board. Many Indian people (Pueblo, Navajo, Apache, and others) have through the years quietly expressed the desirability of having Indian representation on the board. Some time ago, a Kiowa from Oklahoma was added. Although this was a step in the right direction (small step), the man was not native to Gallup or the state. It seemed to be a slight to the Navajos, above all, since there are some 120,000 of them to choose from.

The recent elections were to place four new people on the governing board. There were 14 candidates: 11 non-Indians and three Indians (two Navajos and an Oneida from out of state). Three non-Indians and the Oneida were elected. Again the Navajos were snubbed.

Now Ick Merry announces that the board will be expanded to 21 members, including a minimum of three Indians among the new nine. But here's the knot: the crafty old Ceremonial Association's new by-laws provides for the selecting of seven members to serve as the more active executive committee. In other words, Gallup, the Chamber of Commerce and the Ceremonial Association are in no way going to share power and money with the Indian people whom they use. No matter how many token Indians they elect to the board, they can always expand the board. And, for double insurance, real power can always be taken out of the board and placed in the hands of an executive committee. This seems to be what is happening. We will watch with great interest to see if any Indians are appointed to the executive committee, Gallup.

WHAT CONGRESSMEN ARE SAYING

from Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations
H.R. 12781 91st Congress, First Session

Senator Bible: ... I have always been taught, whether it is right or wrong, they can't handle their liquor ... Some Indians, whether man or woman, who is crazed with drinking too much liquor, goes out and wipes out a lot of people.

Dr. Rabeau: Senator, alcohol is only a symptom. It is only masking a fundamental disorder.

Senator Bible: I don't know what all of the fancy language means, but I know when they go home loaded, to use the vernacular, then sometimes they kill somebody. I don't know what you doctors call it. I call it homicide due to the fact the fellow drank too much.

Dr. Rabeau: Yes, sir. What I am implying is why he drank too much is really not the cause but merely the end effect, a very unsatisfactory one.

Senator Bible: That is right. Too much whiskey, if that is what you mean by "the symptom," I suppose that is it.

Senator Young: Mr. Chairman, I know you are familiar with Indians and one observation I have always made is, I have never known of an Indian to ever turn down liquor.

Senator Bible: I think I could buy that. I remember at Stewart Indian School, with which you may or may not be familiar, when we had, in World War II - I don't know about enlistments this year, but they had an entire class sign up to join the Service; they make terrifically fine military people.

COLLEGE FOR WHAT?

Recently a 13 year old Navajo drop-out said at an NIYC meeting that he did not think that the greatest danger to Indian people was white people. When asked who was the greatest danger, he replied Indian college students.

The reason why a 13 year old should make such a statement is easy to see for anyone who has attended a meeting of the local campus Indian club sponsored by the local campus anthropologist.

The educational system inflicted on Indians in grade school is so un-Indian and so irrelevant that most of those who make it to college make it there by compromising and throwing off as much of their Indianess and their personality as possible. When they reach college they are bankrupt spiritually and intellectually. Indian education is the survival of the most plastic not necessarily the most intelligent.

Many Indian college students affected by the respectable liberal currents on campus are excited by the occupation of Alcatraz a thousand miles away (and they should be). They post Alcatraz news stories on the bulletin boards and talk of chartering busses there for a visit.

This is all good but these same students will laugh at the "ignorant" people on their own reservation just a few miles away. They will ridicule people their own age who have dropped out of school. And they will go to great lengths to explain to their white friends that they are certainly not like those Blanket Indians and those drunk Indians and those lazy Indians who speak with that horrible accent back on the reservation. Many college Indians will even avoid being seen speaking to another Indian on campus.

The reason so many college Indians are like this is not entirely their fault. However, the generation represented by this 13 year old Navajo is not producing adherents to the religion of indifference.

It is difficult to require courage of someone, but this is just what Indians now must ask of their young people. Having already lost most of one generation we hope that we will be able to withstand the crises we now face.

The 13 year old Navajo knows that unless Indians use education as a way of getting more effectively involved in Indian problems instead of as a means of running away from them, Indian people are not likely to improve their situation very much.

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PILGRIMS

Pilgrims came to our land
And asked us for our helping hand
We helped them plant their crops
And helped them build their cabin tops
Then when summer was over and crops were ripe
We asked their help, What did we get
"We can't" "I'm sorry" and all that shit

They stole more and more of our land
That small now large pilgrim band
They raided all our Indian camps
And then called us dirty Indian tramps

They put us on a small reservation
And I thought this was a free nation!

Kitty Allen
Age 12

SIGHTS FOR ALREADY SORE EYES

- A high school principal in Eastern Oklahoma at an education conference protesting the suggestion that the Cherokee language be taught in his school saying, "I don't believe in teaching Cherokee, I think we should all speak American."
- A young Navajo in grammar school being told by his teacher that "Navajo is the Spanish word for thief."
- The "Eagle's Club" in Devil's Lake, North Dakota just next to the Fort Totten Reservation calling itself an American Indian Club yet restricting membership to people of no more than 1/8 Indian blood.
- 15 Indian girls being expelled from school on the Sisseton Reservation in South Dakota for wearing "Indian Power" buttons.
- The Aberdeen Area Office of the BIA telephoning Fort Totten Tribal Judge Ted Weisenberger at all hours of the night telling him how to decide tribal cases.

The National Indian Youth Council in conjunction with We Help Ourselves (WHO) an organization of individuals on the Fort Totten Sioux Reservation in North Dakota sponsored a two day "Protest Pow-Wow" at Devil's Lake, North Dakota on December 13 and 14.

600 Indians attended the two day session and the event was one of the largest Indian gatherings ever assembled in the area.

The purpose of the "Protest Pow-Wow" was unique in that traditional Indian culture was combined with modern day methods of protest. The meeting began with a Sioux ceremony and then the meeting alternated between Indian dancing and singing in which everyone participated and then speeches by people with grievances.

The Aberdeen Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs attempted to discredit the meeting. Many of the local speakers who were employed by the BIA said that the BIA had called them up and told them that they would lose their jobs if they attended the rally.

The dispute at Fort Totten began eight years ago when the BIA threw out the elected tribal council and replaced it with one of its own. A suit brought by tribal members against the BIA is now pending before the U.S. District Court. Indian attorney, Dave Garcia, has offered to mortgage his home so that this case may be pursued to the Supreme Court if necessary.

The immediate reason for the rally was the removal of tribal judge Ted Weisenberger by the BIA. Weisenberger stated in his speech that "(he) was repeatedly telephoned at all hours of the night by BIA officials instructing me how to decide cases. I refused to do this as it would make a mockery of the tribal legal system. As a result they told me I was fired, an act which they legally have no right to do. A suit in Federal Court will decide this issue."

Pat White, tribal member, stated that because he was outspoken against the BIA, the BIA refused to drill a well on his property. "The tribal chairman appointed by the BIA who lives right next door to me has five wells drilled by the Bureau. By driving through the Reservation you can see who is falling into line under the Bureau by the sight of a well on their property."

Spokeswoman for WHO, Mrs. Florence Joshua, stated that "all the white bureau employees have nice homes on our Reservation, the rest of us live in shacks."

Mrs. Joshua several months ago was elected tribal chairwoman but thrown out of office by the Bureau. Former tribal chairman and a certified public accountant, Al McKay, delivered an audit report on tribal funds. He stated that "there has not been an audit in the past five years." He reported that as yet \$43,000 of tribal and government funds remain unaccounted for. "In preparing this audit I have not received anywhere near the co-operation from the BIA as required by law."

McKay further stated that the Fort Totten Reservation has lost all its non-BIA government programs due to the lack of financial responsibility. "The BIA has a large hand in this."

Several speakers told of relatives who had died as a result of failure of the BIA to provide adequate ambulance service.

National Indian leaders such as Martha Grass from Ponca City, Oklahoma reminded the assembled Indians that according to government statistics the Fort Totten Reservation is one of the five poorest Indian communities in the country. "The Bureau of Indian Affairs through its inefficiency, indifference, and bureaucratic lust for power is responsible for keeping it that way. We Indians need to unify and work more on these problems. This will be difficult for us here since non-Indians already control 9/10 of the land of the reservation."

Other Indian leaders echoed the need for unity. One NIYC officer said, "the NIYC has made a total commitment to our brothers at Fort Totten. The situation here is repeated throughout the country. If they (the BIA) can get away with things here, they can do it anywhere in the country. All tribes must make it, or none of us will. Let's get together."

Other national leaders who spoke were Rose Crow Flies High of Newtown, North Dakota; Mary Cornelius of Belcourt, North Dakota; Clyde Bellecourt and Dennis Banks, leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM) of Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Florence Joshua summed up the situation at Fort Totten by saying, "When I was young this was a happy place. We were poor like now but we had pride and we loved life. We were a people then, and we will be a people again in the future."

The concept of the "protest pow-wow" developed at Fort Totten has received widespread national attention. Already NIYC has received requests to sponsor similar events in Gallup, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque, New Mexico. Also from Phoenix, Arizona and several places in Oklahoma. It looks as if the "Protest Pow-Wow" may be a way Indian groups will begin to express their grievances. It appears that a nationwide pattern has been set at Fort Totten.

The NIYC will work closely with WHO in an on-going effort to attack the problems on the Fort Totten Reservation.

P.O. BOX 687
South Pasadena
California, 91030

AN INTERNATIONAL GHOST DANCE PUBLICATION
'NO UNCLE TOMAHAWKS HERE'

No. 5

DRUMS

From the Indian reservation,
To the governmental school,
Well, they're going to educate me,
To the white man's golden rule.
And I'm learning very quickly,
For I've learned to be ashamed.
And I come when they call be
Billy,
Tho I've got an Indian name.

And when they think that they've
changed me,
And cut my hair to meet their
needs,
Will they think I'm whiter Indian
quarter blood or just a half
breed.
Let me tell you Mr. Teacher,
When you say you'll make me
right.
In 500 years of fighting,
Not one Indian turned white.

Well you thought I knew nothing,
When you brought me here to
school.
Just another empty Indian,
Just America's first fool.
But now I can tell you stories,
That are burnt and dead and old.
But in the shadow of their telling,
Walks the thunder, proud and
bold.

Lone Pine and Sequoya,
Handsome Lake and Sitting Bull.
There's Mangus Colorado,
With his sleeves so red and full.
Crazy Horse, the legend,
Those who bit off Custer's soul.
They are dead, yet they are
living,
With the great Geronimo.

Well, you may teach me this
land's history,
But we taught it to you first.
We broke your heart and bent
your journeys,
Broken treaties left us cursed.
Even now, you have to cheat us,
Even tho you think us tame.
In our losing we found proud-
ness,
In your winning, you found shame.

There are drums
beyond the mountains,
Indian drums
that you can't hear.
There are drums beyond the
mountains,
And they're getting mighty near.

Taken from a Johnny Cash
album -- Bitter Tears...



CIVILIZING THE WHITE MAN

"You will forgive me if I tell you that my people were Americans for thousands of years before your people were. The question is not how you can Americanize us but how we can Americanize you. We have been working at that for a long time. Sometimes we are discouraged at the results. But we will keep trying. And the first thing we want to teach you is that, in the American way of life, each man has respect for his brother's vision. Because each of us respected his brother's dream, we enjoyed freedom here in America while your people were busy killing and enslaving each other across the water. The relatives you left behind are still trying to kill each other because they have not learned there that freedom is built on my respect for my brother's vision and his respect for mine. We have a hard trail ahead of us in trying to Americanize you and your white brothers. But we are not afraid of hard trails."

the RINCON ELDER Sam Kolb

Old People, young People, sick and needy Native People walking the highways; their only protection is the road sign that reads: WATCH OUT FOR PEDESTRIANS.

When you read about all the big things that the Navajo Council is doing with the help of the BIA; for instance, the millions of dollars involved in the Four Corners Project; with some of the big names, international contractors such as the Edison Co., Westinghouse, the Betchel Corp.; other projects are Many Farms School. The irrigation system, and many more, you would think that the economy of The People would have no equal. But, this is far from the truth.

How about the old People that make the mortality statistics for the Indians lowest of all other groups? The needy and the sick, regardless of the nature, are the ones that suffer the most socially, economically, and worst of all for Indian People, humiliation at the hand of the

missionaries, Social Workers, and the police. In most cases these so-called do-gooders are of their race. I would say through experience that there is nothing worse than a bad Indian police.

How about those dirty no-good Indian winos across the track from Gallup? The untouchables by the non-Indians and big wheeling-and-dealing Indian Administrators for the Natives and the BIA. There is nothing across the tracks or under the bridge for glory seekers.

Which one of you will come out from that false screen where you have hidden yourself so securely.. Where it is warm and comfortable.. Where there is no hunger, and want for nothing? Are you willing and dedicated to go out there where it is cold, ugly and dirty? Are you willing to face up to those town politicians, and your Council in behalf of those across the tracks? If you are not, then stay behind where it is warm and comfortable, and become less Indian.

THE CATTLE THIEF

You have stolen my father's spirit, but his body I only claim.

You have killed him, but you shall not dare to touch him now he's dead.

You have cursed, and called him a Cattle Thief, though you robbed him first of bread.

Robbed him and robbed my people — look there, at that shrunken face,

Starved with a hollow hunger, we owe to you and your race.

What have you left to us of land, what have you left of game,

What have you brought but evil, and curses since you came?

How have you paid us for our game? How paid us for our land?

By a book, to save our souls from the sins you brought in your other hand.

Go back with your new religion, we never have understood,

Your robbing an Indian's body, and mocking his soul with food.

Go back with your new religion, and find if find you can,

The honest man you have ever made from out a starving man.

You say your cattle are not ours, your meat is not our meat;

When you pay for the land you live in, we'll pay for the meat we eat.

Give back our land and our country, give back our herds of game;

Give back the furs and the forests that were ours before you came;

Give back the peace and plenty. Then come with your new belief,

And blame, if you dare, the hunger that drove him to be a thief.

Tekahionwake,
Mohawk Princess

THOUGHTS

There seems to be an ever growing concern relative to the Native Nationalism that has become an open fact within the past few months.

Some claim that the 'movement' is racist. It is; and must be for some time to come. From all aspects of logic the movement must remain racist until such time as the majority of our various (Native) national problems are resolved. In short, we must place our 'house' in order before we will be ready for guests. This cannot be carried out if our communities are being over run, as they are at present, with a multitude of non-Natives.

This seems to be something that the non-natives insist on ignoring; and it gave 'birth' to the name 'Ugly Amerikan'. The non-natives are telling us how to build a safe fort, while their own burns down around them.

This is why the most common cry among our People is 'leave us alone.' It means; don't push! Just back-off and let us run our own affairs; your society can't do it. If we need your help, we'll indicate it; until then, just leave us alone. Do not fold, spindle, staple etc.

One of the newest 'Kicks' is to romp off to a 'reservation' to help the Natives. How? These well-meaning people don't speak any of our languages, they know nothing about our societies, religions, customs; nothing. How then can they expect to come onto any reservation and be of help is a \$64 question. Where will they live? How will they be able to take care of themselves when far too often, under existing conditions our own People can't? Often, it seems that these nice people are doing a series of 'Hail Marys' for 'sins' they have nothing to do with.

The first step in assisting our People to resolve our problems is to realize that if there were no Amerikans, our People would not have any problems they could not resolve in short order. This means that the battle is not on our land; but on the land of the foreigners; the Amerikans.

The problems we face today (as well as yesterday) are created not on our lands; so why consider turning our lands into a battlefield, we have done nothing to deserve this!

Those familiar with the ways of the 'outside' should remain outside and fight the battles where the trouble starts; a case of stopping the execution, and you won't have to worry about the life of the condemned.

The problems are not in the questions of legality and morality. The problems are with the 'system'; whiteman's law; for the whiteman; by the whiteman and of the whiteman. Be realistic about this; the whiteman has all the odds; he doesn't have to give anything back unless he wants to or unless he is forced to. That which he does give, is done so grudgingly and often proves so costly to the receiver, that more often than not this 'gift' is nothing more than an aspirin to relieve a gun shot wound in the head.

There are two very old sayings that seem to sum up this situation:

'If a whiteman comes onto your land; kill him, for he will do this to you if he gets a chance!'

'Never step on a snake and never trust a whiteman!'

There is another interesting saying that goes: 'If you see a whiteman, hide; for you may suspect the worst of him and be right! If you see a whiteman with a treaty, run; for you know that he has brought the worst with him!'

It might be said then, that for those who honestly seek to help us; fight the battles in your own cities and suburbs. Force the changes that must be made in your own manner; at the point where the changes must be made; in the non-native world.

There is nothing in our countries for the non-natives that can not be brought out to them; you might call it exporting from our countries to the foreign countries.

Expose' -- Story Behind THE Beauty and The Beast

There are many Indian beauty contests held annually in cities and reservations where Indians reside. The desire to climax a local event by the selection of a beautiful Indian girl who will represent her people is on the increase. Sometimes the winner of these contests receive merely the glory of standing in front of a grandstand or riding merrily on a float; however, there are several contests which do bring a sense of Indian achievement. An outstanding example is the Miss Navajo contest which rigorously selects a young lady to represent the Navajo Tribe. Her efforts are rewarded with generous gifts, clothing, luggage, a job, travel and appearance throughout the nation.

Although the majority of Indian beauty pageants are planned and carried out solely by Indian people, there exists one pageant where Indian people have been unable to gain a foothold. This is the annual Miss Indian America pageant at Sheridan, Wyoming. Here the brainiest and most beautiful of all Indian maidens gather to compete. Indian parents and many tribes expend enormous amounts of money to outfit with authentic regalia and groom their contestants.

Patterned after the Miss America pageant at Atlantic City, the Miss Indian America pageant got its initial beginning when a Crow Indian girl was selected queen of the local rodeo by a grandstand crowd of visiting cowboys and local ranchers. Downtown in Sheridan there were "No Indian Allowed" signs in windows of stores and cafes. The signs came down and the local residents take great pride in the Freedoms Foundation Award for an All-American City which they attribute to their willingness to accept the Indian people.

Following this were the highest years of glory when Sheridan was thrown open to visiting Indian tribes. Sheridan became the "In Place" to be for pow-wows. The best Indian singers and dancers came to enjoy a good time regardless of the whiteman. Slowly, the glory faded and following incidents the people of Sheridan no longer see the masses of Indian tribes patronizing their town. The Whiteman - Redman person to person exchange of goodwill seems to have hit rock-bottom. Supported now by a small group of local people, the pageant seems to be losing ground.

The pageant is governed by a group of non-Indian Board members, selected from local merchants, lawyers, and professionals, which is called the All-American Indian Days Board.

EDITORIAL

If we are to Progress, if we are to even survive, a new kind of leadership must come forth from the Sioux people--perhaps not a new kind at all--rather the old kind, the kind found in such men as Crazy Horse of the Oglalas and Sitting Bull of the Hunkpapas.

Until we are lead by men who hold values authentic enough to enable them to give themselves totally to God and man for the development of their people, we are doomed to revolving in an endless cycle of dependency, given up to poverty, alienation and defeat.

But more than just moral integrity is needed. A leadership must be born with depth of vision. A leadership must be born with a vision sharp enough to separate issues from personalities and thus effect unity of effort within the Indian community. A leadership

A rousing conclusion to this summer's pageant resulted in closed Board meetings of such secrecy that no minutes have been disclosed or circulated even to Indian Executive Board members. Although there has been a desire to include Indian people on the judging panel, three former Miss Indian Americas made a strong plea for such action now. This apparently fell on deaf ears while the old adage "We do have a Cherokee" was carried out. Other matters of concern to Indians witnessing the pageant seem to have run off the backs of the White Board faster than water off a duck's back.

The pageant this year continued to be directed by the non-Indian Board with a small group of Indians in attendance, primarily Crows who dwell nearby on their reservation but mainly consisting of parents and chaperones of beauty contestants. The format of the program has continuously been criticized as "being run" by Crow Indians however Brummett Echohawk an Oklahoma Indian, took a turn at master of ceremonies. While the pow-wow continues to be poorly organized through production of a "white audience" program, the contestants in the Miss Indian America contest are being interviewed by non-Indian judges. These persons are selected by their national prominence, understanding of Indian culture, and the contribution they will make to Sheridan. Although questions to the contestants range over many subjects, emphasis is given to the Indian - White relationship in which the most diplomatic answer in the eyes of the panelist is given credibility.

Covering the United States on goodwill tours, the winning Miss Indian America finds herself rushing into television, radio and speaking engagements with white audiences which are becoming more demanding on her personality and intellect. Meanwhile, good will trips to reservations take on a secondary role. Working continuously, under-staffed, without adequate pay, and surrounded by white advisors and chaperones, the Traveling Miss Indian America becomes doubtful as to her real role in Indian life. Many a critical person has asked "What does the experience of being Miss Indian America do to an Indian girl in terms of value changes and future orientation?"

must be born with a vision subtle enough to move legislative bodies at local, state, and National levels. A leadership must be born with a vision broad enough to chart a course of self-determination for the Sioux people. And finally, a leadership must be born with a vision wise enough to see that above all administrative tasks, above all project goals, is the overwhelming task of the development of people.

The Sioux people are the greatest potential resource in the State of South Dakota, only with this new kind of leadership will that human potential bud and flower and bear fruit in realized accomplishment.

We welcome the new Tribal Leaders. We hope that in them we find a leadership that will make the Sioux once again a great Nation.

The INDIAN

AMERICAN INDIAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

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Co-editors of THE INDIAN are Birgil Kills Straight, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, 57770 and Frank LaPointe, Rosebud, South Dakota, 57570.

HISTORY BOOKS WRONG

Our American History books do not give the Indian a fair shake. American History should tell an honest unbiased account of the events of White conquest of our country. Our great warriors have been pushed into the realm of (Savages) and it is a funny thing because, as a small child, I can remember my Grandfather telling me of the Great Fight that our people had trying to protect our home land. Of course the Whites didn't think of this as our home land it was just a place where savages had to be conquered, or it was just a place where savages had to be conquered, or trying to annihilate whole tribes, so that they could live in peace according to their way of life.

While millions of White settlers fled the European continent because they were denied the privilege to live and worship as they wanted; they thought nothing of coming to this country and pressing their religion and way of life on the Indians that they met on the New England coast.

They penned Indians into small reservations, and surrounding the reservations was another European civilization.

The Seneca Red Jacket, would not embrace the White Man's religion, even through his wife and stepdaughter did. He still tried to maintain his identity as an Indian by staying close to the land, close to his Indian beliefs.

This Great Country of ours has become an industrial giant, that Red Jacket and Joseph Brant would hardly be able to comprehend if they were here today. Our rivers and streams have become polluted and our country sides raped by the huge machines that they use to make bigger and wider roads. True we have left walking, and horse to rife in those fast mechanical monsters and we like it but, then we stop to contemplate, which we do, it is then that we just wish that we could look somewhere that there was no garbage, no strewn empty beer bottles, or papers thrown on the highway; for a better place to get rid of it a few people have not found.

Indian Culture Director Slated In Rapid City

Brother Edward Red Owl director of the American Indian Culture Center at Blue Cloud Abbey, Marvin, is scheduled to address numerous groups this week in Rapid City.

In recent years, he has been lecturing at colleges and universities throughout the Midwest on Indian culture and history.

Brother Red Owl, born in 1941 on the Santee Sioux Reservation, is a graduate of St. John's College prep school in Nebraska, Conception College in Missouri and St. John's University in Minnesota, where he received a master of divinity degree in 1969.

March 26, 1970 Leave Well Enough Alone

A tremendous potential for development of natural resources exist on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation that can be an asset to the Oglala Sioux. A seemingly lackadaisical attitude seems to exist among the Indian people, and recently they were aroused, when a group of individuals, presented a development proposal at Wounded Knee. Apparently the right approach was not made, whereby a stand-off exists.

A leave well enough policy seems to prevail in regards to the Wounded Knee proposal. This attitude leaves in Dormancy, a harvest of wealth that could be of great value--comprehensive development program with the Wounded Knee project as a starter.

The above policy can only be directed to the burial ground of the War Chief Crazy Horse and the Sun Dance. We are not worthy to exploit, glorify, or commercialize on the Sun Dance Sacrifice. The Sun Dance performed by our people in the past, had a sacred and profound meaning. To reenact, which has been the case, could be considered as sacrilegious.

It is true that Wounded Knee, needs no garish or majestic monument to remind us of that certain day, but improvements are necessary for preservation and posterity. Improvements or additions to the area will not mar or deface, but will add more grace and beauty to its present simplicity, grandeur, and serenity, all brought about by a tragedy.

RED POWER

INTEGRATION, whether in religious life or in the community, does not mean simply the amalgamation of a number of groups into one.

Minority Groups insist that there will be no integration without preparation and that preparation includes bringing them up to the status as equals with the dominant group.

Otherwise you simply submerge the minority into the majority.

That is why minority groups... are retrenching, that is rebuilding up their own self-image and sense of worth by what some would call "nationalism" so they can deal with the majority group as equals.

They are backtracking to their roots in history to find "who we are".

They are doing what any good general does in a losing battle, gather and concentrate his forces.

Minority Groups will no longer stand for paternalism, charity, "tokenism" or unilateral help.

They insist that any help take a supportive role and be based on the preservation of their culture and a respect for it.

They want recognition as human beings that have within their culture a wide variety of sub-cultures and personalities.

*Reprinted Fr: ("Getting Through to Our Spanish Speaking," Soto; Homiletic and Pastoral Review, March 69, pp454-5)

A coalition of all--pro and con--will have to be formulated to finalize the Wounded Knee proposal and other future development programs.

If we lose our development program and others take over and develop, we will play the role of on-lookers, when we could have been planners and builders. A severe heritage loss will occur when we will be paying admission to see our traditional Indian dances, ceremonies, and developed areas of scenic and historic sites.

Shannon County, undoubtedly, the last strong-hold of the Oglala Sioux, and the Reservation proper, is one of the thirty most impoverished counties of our nation. This exists, even after our involvement in good programs, such as, livestock, farming, irrigation, land-use, Rehab. housing and work projects.

Today as we see the powerful organizational structures--Federal and State agencies--we wonder if we are getting close to our cardinal objective--"Economic independence for the Indian people." The organizations have grown, in stature, prestige, and security, but the status quo of the Indian people are at a low ebb.

Cherokee Comment

"Now we shall not rest until we have regained our rightful place. We shall tell our young people what we know. We shall send them to the corners of the Earth to learn more. They shall lead us."

"Now we have much to do. When our task is done, we will be ready to rest."

"In these days, intruders, named without our consent, speak for the American Indian. When the American Indian Government is the American Indian People, we shall rest."

"In these days, the high courts of the United States listen to people who have been wronged. When our wrongs have been judged in these courts, and the illegalities of the past have been corrected, we shall rest."

"In these days, there are countless ways by which people make their grievances known to all Americans. When we have learned these new ways that bring strength and power, and we have used them, we shall rest."

"In these days, we are losing our homes and our children's homes. When our Homeland is protected, for ourselves and for the generations to follow, we shall rest."

"In the vision, of our Creator, we declare ourselves ready to stand proudly among the nationalities of these United States of America."

From the Cleveland Crier.

PUBLISHED FOR ... OWNED BY ... THE NAVAJO PEOPLE
PUBLISHED EACH THURSDAY MORNING
The Official Newspaper of The Navajo Tribe
Window Rock, Ariz.

EDITOR:
Dick Hardwick

March 12, 1970

Test case goes to Court of Appeals

The test case challenging the taxation of Navajo income by the State of Arizona has been appealed to the Arizona Court of Appeals.

Rosalind McClanahan filed a
INDIAN CONFERENCE SET

The 1970 American Indian Tribal Leader's Conference on Scouting will be held at Rocky Mountain College in Billings, Mont., August 4-8.

Indian leaders and others interested in Scouting for Indian Youth are invited. Registrations for the conference are now being accepted.

INDIAN CIRCLE PROGRAM

Indian students from all tribes who are attending junior high, high school or college are eligible to participate in the Indian Circle Program, sponsored each summer by the Indian Division of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The program is designed to provide the students with increased knowledge, understanding and pride in their Indian heritage and culture and to help them develop their skills in Indian arts and crafts, music, and dancing.

For more information about Indian Circle Programs, please contact Indian Division, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1200 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20506, telephone: (202) 382-3447.

WHAT AN INDIAN LOOKS LIKE?

I have often heard the phrase "but he doesn't look Indian..." I've often wondered what an Indian is supposed to look like.

To an outsider, he probably looks like the Hollywood version. But how many people really know? I've met people from all tribes. Some look oriental. Some have dark eyes and straight hair. To me, they are all Indians. Not because of their physical make-up, or because they have a roll stating that they are Indian. Because he is interested in what happens to his people. Because he suffers when his people suffer. Because he enjoys himself when he is around his own people. An Indian looks like an Indian not from the outside but from the inside... where it really counts.

I think we have enough discrimination from the outside. Why practice among ourselves? An Indian is an Indian no matter what he looks like. The problem is not his, but rather the problem of the person who makes the statement, "but he doesn't look Indian."

by... Jim Olguin

PUEBLOS REVOLT

Five Sandoval county (New Mexico) pueblos have threatened to form their own all-Indian public school district because the Bernalillo School District refuses to give them adequate representation on the school board in conforming with state law. The five pueblos are Santo Domingo, Cochiti, Santa Clara, Santa Ana and San Felipe. Gov. David Cargo, who backs their cause, said if they form their own districts state money will be channeled to them. The Indians have threatened to boycott the Bernalillo School District schools. If they do, it would pull out 50 per cent of the district's population. Federal funds for special Indian projects in the district would be automatically halted, throwing the district into a serious financial crisis.

lawsuit against the Arizona Tax Commission last June, claiming that because she was a Navajo Indian residing on the Navajo Indian Reservation, only her own tribal government had the power to tax her and not the State of Arizona.

The Navajo tribal government presently does not tax any of its Navajo citizens.

In a final hearing before the Arizona Superior Court, St. Johns, Arizona, last Monday, Miss McClanahan's claim was denied. In its opinion the Court said that the power to tax Navajo income was not essential to the sovereignty of the Navajo tribal government and "that imposition of the tax is in the long run beneficial to the Navajo, and may well speed up the full integration into the political, social and economic culture of the State of Arizona." The appeal was filed last week.

Miss McClanahan has appealed the case, claiming that the dismissal of her claim by Arizona Superior Court is in error because the Navajo Treaty of 1868 and several United States Supreme Court decisions give the Navajos the exclusive right to govern themselves, including the right to prevent the states from taxing Navajo Indians.

She concedes that she and all the Navajo Indians are subject to Federal taxation.

Miss McClanahan is represented by DNA Attorney Ted Mitchell. She has a long road ahead of her in the Appellate Courts of the State of Arizona and the case is expected to be finally settled in the United States Supreme Court.

In the meantime, DNA attorneys are advising their clients to either refuse to pay state income tax or to pay it under protest and demand a refund.

Royalties suit filed by Navajos

Four Navajos have filed suit in U.S. District Court in Salt Lake City seeking to prevent the Utah Board of Indian Affairs from spending the money until the matter is resolved. Chairman John S. Boyden Sr., Salt Lake City, says he will meet Monday with the Utah attorney general's office on the matter.

The Indians say that under a 1933 law, royalties from the lands were to be spent only for Indians on the Navajo reservation in the Four Corners area and to the Aneth Extension in Utah's San Juan County.

An amendment in 1968 included all Navajos living in San Juan County in southeastern Utah, diminishing the expenditure per person.

Involved is about \$500,000 per year. The money has been spent by state agencies for health and education programs and capital improvements.

Plaintiffs are James Jim, Kayenta, Ariz.; Tom Bledsoe, Cortez, Colo.; Seth Bigman, Montezuma Creek, Utah; and David King, Mexican Hat, Utah.



NAVAJO ARTIST, in his Navajo Gallery in Taos, N.M., is R.C. Gorman, Indian artist whose work is being exhibited at Medical Center Hospital in Tyler, Tex., by the Juried Arts, Inc. He currently has articles in "Art in America" and "The American Indian Speaks" edited by John R. Milton and printed by the South Dakota Review. A forthcoming review on Gorman will appear in the Southwestern Arts Magazine edited by the Jenkins Publishing Company of Austin, Tex.

Therapeutic Values in Navajo Religion

By ALEXANDER AND DOROTHEA LEIGHTON, M.D.

To say that Navajo religion is directed at the cure of sickness is to over-simplify, yet it is hard to find any other way to express the facts briefly. All religions are fundamentally systems for obtaining a sense of security. The Navajos stress the insecurities of illness, but they also include other things, and in the realms of illness itself their concept of disease is so broad that it reaches far beyond what we should naturally consider. To say that Navajo religion is for curing sickness is about as correct as to say that Christian Science is for curing sickness, or that Christianity as a whole, because of its ethical stress, is directed at controlling social evils.

There are thirty-five principal Navajo ceremonies, each with numerous possible variations. The time required for performance ranges from two to nine days and nights. The majority are primarily concerned with disease, but directed at what the Navajos consider first causes rather than at the symptoms. There are a very large number of causes.

Thirty-two animals are supposed to bring illness, and of these the commonest are the bear, deer, coyote, porcupine, snake and eagle. Ordinary contact with these animals does not bring misfortune, but under special circumstances one may get sick from hunting the animal, being attacked by it, eating it, seeing it, and particularly dreaming about it. Dreams are always taken seriously as sources of harbingers of disaster. Lightning, wind and to a certain extent the earth itself may cause illness. A man may receive harm from lightning or a whirlwind, not only being directly hit, but by being near where they have struck, or having anything to do with objects affected by them. Any ceremonial may infect a person if he commits improper behavior in relation to or during the ceremonial. Unborn children are particularly susceptible and may catch the illness if either the father or the mother attend, even if no improper behavior occurs. The child may not immediately get sick, in fact he may be an old man before the overt symptoms appear. Spirits of the dead are especially dangerous. Navajos are famous for their horror of corpses or anything that has touched a corpse. Night and darkness are related dreads because then the spirits are thought to be abroad. Casual contacts with other tribes of Indians, Mexicans, and whites is thought to be likely source of illness, and sexual relations with any of these is very dangerous.

Witchcraft is a particularly

important source of sickness. Men or women, especially those who are old and white-haired, and also the very poor or the very sick may exert this malignant force. As with other cultures, the witches run counter to all the religious and moral laws.

They murder their own nearest and dearest, practice incest, handle corpses freely, robbing them of their jewels and using parts of their bodies for their incantations. They deliberately cause illness among others, sometimes merely from jealousy, sometimes so the victim will pay heavily to regain his health. The witch can work this without exposing himself to detection, by being a practicing medicine man, and to all outward produces his cure by regular ceremonial methods, whereas in reality he is merely reversing his own witchcraft. Witches always keep their real nature a secret and often pose as pleasant and kindly people. It can be seen that this cultural stress, accusations of witchcraft and the murder of witches spring up like mushrooms after rain.

The symptoms caused by these various causative factors of disease are not consistent and there is little correlation between symptom and source. The symptoms include the run-of-the-mine aches and pains of the flesh, but also bad dreams, and very commonly "feeling bad all over," which appears to be some sort of depression or anxiety state. The ceremonies are usually not directed at the symptoms, but at the causative factors.

Although a curing ceremonial is given for one or more specific patients, the good effects of it are not limited to the main objects, but extend to all who are present, particularly the family of the patient and those who live in the neighborhood. This influence helps the ailing, and perpetuates health in the strong.

Besides the curing ceremonials which constitute most of the thirty-five major types of ceremonials, there are some others. One of these is the Blessing Way, "... A rite whose legends, songs and prayers are chiefly concerned with the creation and placement of the earth and sky, sun and moon, sacred mountains and vegetation, the inner form of these natural phenomena, the control of the he and she - rains, dark clouds and mist, the inner forms of the cardinal points and life phenomena that may be considered the harbingers of blessing and happiness." (Father Berard Haile; Some Cultural Aspects of the Navajo Hogan, Fort Wingate, Arizona, 1935.) This ceremonial was very popular in the Ramah-Atarque region where we worked. It seemed to be employed to restore or insure harmony. Evil consists of disharmony between the forces or

nature (and super-nature), and the Blessing Way, being a reenactment of the creation, is a means of restoring harmony, or of strengthening it. To say, "Reenactment," gives a false flavor. The Navajos believe that they are performing the very songs and rituals that the gods used to bring about creation. It is more than a reenactment, it is the real thing; it is the laying of their hands on the machinery of the infinite and straightening it out.

The Blessing Way is performed specifically for girls at puberty, for pregnant women, for returned traveler who has lived for a time with non-Navajos, for a family after a death has occurred and in general when the need is felt for "Good Hope."

There are ceremonials for hunting, for war, for trading, and for gathering salt. It is interesting to note that a man may not be a hunter and a medicine man at the same time. They say that one whose mind is on killing will be dangerous to patients, and that one whose mind is on healing will not be skillful in wounding game.

SID gets Episcopal Church grant

Peterson Zah executive director of Southwestern Indian Development Inc., has announced the receipt of a \$25,000 grant from the National Episcopal Church. This grant is for a twelve month period, beginning last month. The money will be used for general program expenses.

Southwestern Indian Development, Inc., (SID) is a non-profit Arizona corporation, composed of young Indians from throughout the Southwest. Zah said that the philosophy of S.I.D. is that young Indians must become more actively involved in solving the problems that face their people. In part, this involves educating them about these problems since their schools tend to bury problems and do not give the young Indians an opportunity to explore and discuss Indian issues to fill this void.

S.I.D. also intends to take an active role in developing and carrying out solutions to these problems through "action research". S.I.D. will do field research on important issues confronting the tribes in the Southwest on the assumption that one of the present barriers to solving many of these problems is the lack of concrete information on them. Once the problem is thoroughly documented, S.I.D. plans to work with community involved to solve those problems.

The American Indians: The Un-Americans

by WILLIAM BRANDON

ONE THING American Indians don't lack is Indian experts. All told, there are probably more experts than Indians. For example, on the poverty-stricken Oglala Sioux reservation at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, sixty-four research projects are currently under way with a combined cost in academic salaries alone that would feed all the hungry children on the reservation. Almost the only people acquainted with Indians who don't claim to be Indian experts are the Indians themselves. The Indians' job is to listen to the experts. They listen because they have to, because essential structures of their community life are controlled by the experts and their "programs."

In traveling over the country last summer, interviewing Indians and Indian experts, I found these two groups did not share, at least not equally, the same concerns.

Most Indians seemed most concerned that Indian communities are poor because they do not have enough land and resources for their growing populations. ("Indian community" means a tribal community with a quasi-sovereignty of its own and a sense of relatedness among its people akin to that of a religious community.) They were concerned, too, that we, the "dominant society," raid and besiege and harass them because they are alien—indeed so alien they won't even leave their poor communities and go look for jobs some place else, as we would do; and concerned that our raids and attacks are chiseling away what lands and resources they still have left, which leaves the still growing Indian populations even poorer.

These, it seemed to me, were the main areas of Indian concern.

The experts talked mostly about education. Experts have a touching faith in education, but Indians don't cotton to our white education at all. Their school dropout rates are high. "Achievement" rates are low. Indian students are, as a rule, just not interested in the kind of schools we provide for them. This bewildering problem has divided the experts into two camps.

One camp, made up generally of experts with a nationwide point of view, believes we should reconstruct Indian education to fit the Indian world.

The other camp, made up generally of experts concerned with the operation of local school districts, thinks we should keep hacking away at Indian children to carve them to fit into the pattern of our white education.

Until now the bureaucrats have won, and they fully expect to keep on winning. But it is impressive that after these many years of force-fed misfit education so many Indians are still resisting. In 1966, some 10,000 to 16,000—statistics differ—Indian children between the ages of eight and sixteen—somewhere about ten per cent of the total U.S. Indian school-age population of some 150,000—were out of school altogether. For some this was because no schools were available, but for many others, even though few Indian parents these days will admit it, it must be considered a deliberate withholding. The modern period in Indian statistics is neatly bracketed by the dates of 1891, when three Kiowa schoolboys froze to death trying to get home

across blizzard-swept plains after running away from school, and 1967, when two Navajo students died in precisely the same way.

There is involved a clash, a conflict so profound that it takes place in the soul's least conscious depths. Our school system is naturally built to our own scale of values, "competitive, exploitative, oriented to acquisition, and above all to individual success," in the words of Dr. Anne Smith, Santa Fe anthropologist and author of several works on Indian education in New Mexico. But these values are directly opposed to the gods of the Indian world. The inherent Indian orientation is toward a sense of community, interpersonal harmony, group endeavor and achievement, rather than isolated endeavor and individual achievement. To the Indian child therefore our schools are likely to seem either silly

"Termination is truly a word of ill omen to tribal Indians."

or hostile, as he comes to realize they are teaching false values compared to the values learned at home.

A number of recent studies have disclosed that the Indian family usually presents to the schools a stable, well-adjusted, willing, quick-learning child, who does splendidly at first, and then, at about the fourth or fifth grade, begins to regress. By the time he finishes high school—sixty per cent drop out along the way—he has acquired less than a tenth-grade education. Many teachers have commented on the typical Indian child in kindergarten, so outgoing and happy and friendly, who turns into the withdrawn, rather apprehensive child of later grades. Clearly, he approaches the big outside world ready for a joyous embrace, and the big outside world gradually infects his spirit with the nightmare sickness of finding one's self out of kilter with a world one expected to love.

Worst of all, since the children are dangled into this invisible chasm of alienness without any idea that it is there, each child thinks his "failure" must mean there is something wrong with him personally. A 1966 Government report much quoted by educators (the Coleman Report) revealed that twelfth-grade Indian students chose for themselves bottom rank in answers to the question, "How bright do you think you are?"

Not surprisingly, this misfit educational system long ago lost interest in its apathetic child victims; its "goals" are for the benefit of the system, not the students. Prison-like boarding schools were established for easier administrative efficiency, better living conditions for the staff, convenience in using the visual-aid gadgets that to the superficial mind define "quality education." These children's concentration camps have come in for flaming criticism, much of it from white patriots alleging the Indian schools were slowing down "assimilation" by keeping Indian children fenced off from the melting pot. So, in 1965-66, the Government asked Indians what they thought of taking Indian children away from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its seg-

regated schools. Some younger Indians favored this, but most tribal spokesmen protested vehemently, less from love for the BIA schools than from opposition to the rejected goal of assimilation.

The Government thereupon carried out the vetoed proposal anyway but without saying so, and while education is still big business—two-fifths of the 1968 budget—in the BIA, two-thirds of all Indian pupils have been quietly transferred to public schools, where Federal funds pay for them by the head. Two of the leading specialists in Indian education, Professors Murray and Rosalie Wax, told me at the University of Kansas last summer that this hasty switch to public schools promises to be catastrophic. The public schools are generally unprepared for Indian students, and, with only occasional exceptions, uninterested in any special preparation.

"We teach exactly the same courses and use exactly the same textbooks as all other Arizona schools," said the superintendent of the handsome new elementary and high school on the Papago reservation in the desert country of southern Arizona. He was caustic about "Indian values" that were supposedly worth "saving." "My parents came from Denmark," he said. "They did not teach us children Danish. They were happy to come to this fine country with all its great and wonderful opportunities. They wanted us children to appreciate America and be Americans." The superintendent all but implied that if the Indians didn't like this fine country they should go back where they came from.

Related to the central misfit problem are various other handicaps—language, for one. Classes are usually conducted in English although two-thirds

"The inherent Indian orientation is toward a sense of community, interpersonal harmony . . ."

of the children know no English at all when they begin school.

Our "best" people think nothing can be finer for their own children than a bilingual education in French, but an Indian child is generally regarded as "disadvantaged" by red and white alike because he speaks Cherokee or Ojibwa or Tsimshian—this, even though it is beginning to be recognized that Indian languages possess their own literatures, often literatures of beauty and sophistication. But the effects of the "primitive language" misconception will long remain, especially among the ignorant who speak of all Indian languages as "Indian dialects."

Malnutrition is a deep-lying handicap, as is racial discrimination. The U.S. Office of Education has reported that one out of four public school teachers would prefer not to teach Indian children.

Anti-Indian prejudice, where it exists, is blazingly open. "What do these Indians do, mostly?" I asked a white businessman on the Northern Cheyenne reservation in Montana. "As little as possible, like all the rest of the lazy bastards everywhere," he said unsmilingly. Do black people talk of police harassment? The national arrest rate for Indians is five times that for blacks—twenty-five times the rate for whites.

When I was in South Dakota a few months ago the Sioux were exercised—they still are—over the Tom White Hawk and the Baxter Berry murder cases. In the White Hawk case, an Indian college student from the Rosebud Sioux reservation, who was drunk, shot and killed an elderly white jeweler in

the course of attempted robbery, and raped the victim's wife. In the other a well-to-do rancher, son of a former governor of South Dakota, shot and left to die a young Rosebud Sioux, the minister of an Indian church, who had come to protest the rancher's shooting of Indian dogs said to be causing losses in the calf crop on the Berry ranch. White Hawk was sentenced to be electrocuted; after two years and several stays of execution the governor commuted the sentence to life imprisonment with a recommendation against any consideration of parole. Berry was acquitted by an all-white jury on a plea of self-defense, although the murdered Indian had been unarmed. The Rosebud Sioux tribal council revoked tribal grazing permits held by Berry but was overruled by BIA officials who could find "no justifiable reason" for cancellation.

When parents practice prejudice, the children's teeth are set on edge. At Point Arena, California, where the Kashaya Pomo children from the wretched Stewart's Point reservation go to high school, all the Stewart's Point students are driven out sooner or later; the Kashaya say they haven't had a child finish high school in years.

Booze and broken homes, a characteristic dirge of the urban ghetto, is less a constant theme in the Indian world, where a tightly organized community can sometimes withstand incredible poverty pressures—but when such a modality does take over, and children from it then collide with a rigid, ill-natured, alien outside world, the results are often dramatized in the absolute destruction of the young. Youthful suicides, all but unheard-of among some Indian groups, such as the Pueblos, have reached fantastically high

rates elsewhere in the Indian world, as at Fort Hall, Idaho, where child suicides have occurred as early as eight years of age. The late Senator Robert Kennedy's account of the jail-suicide at Fort Hall of a sixteen-year-old boy accused of drinking during school hours was given wide publicity but is by no means an isolated example. Rather more flagrant might be the case of the Sioux boy who hanged himself in the Wilkin County jail at Breckenridge, Minnesota, in December, 1968, after having been held in the jail, according to a newspaper story, "in virtual isolation" for seven weeks. His age was thirteen. He was charged with having been involved, along with three older boys, in a car theft. He had been given no court hearing during his seven weeks in jail. The judge cleared his docket during a part of that time to go on a hunting trip.

Says Dr. Karl Menninger of such instances: "Where one commits suicide, scores are in despair."

Even though our Indian education is, plainly, misfitted to basic Indian culture, it can still train students in technical and professional skills. Despairing Indian parents see no way out of a poverty future for their children except to force them into the schools, and some Indian students do survive to remain tribal people while becoming university trained doctors, lawyers, or Indian chiefs. Yet some are left hopelessly deformed; some are trapped by the alien gods and find themselves "assimilated." Most, however, reject the education that is so foreign to their real world: The average Indian ends

This is the second installment of Mr. Brandon's three-part presentation.

The author of The American Heritage Book of Indians, Mr. Brandon has conducted experimental courses on the original inhabitants of North America at the University of Massachusetts. He visited scores of reservations throughout the nation in preparing his series of articles for The Progressive. His travels and researches were financed in great measure by the Fund for Investigative Journalism of Washington, D. C.

—THE EDITORS

his formal education with just five years of school.

A faint hope has sprung up among deeply concerned Indian experts that the practice of carving an Indian child to fit the white educational system may be overthrown. Their hope is based mainly on the work of the special U.S. Senate subcommittee on Indian education, the "Kennedy Committee" first chaired by Senator Robert Kennedy, later by Senator Edward Kennedy. The subcommittee's final report, presented early in November, 1969, offers sixty concrete recommendations designed to bring about "culturally sensitive" programs and bilingual programs and increased Indian control of Indian education. It calls for a White House conference and a Senate Select Committee to see that these basic changes are really made. Throughout the 2,371 pages of testimony, the opinion prevails that the present destructive schooling should cease and that education for Indians should be totally redirected to fit the outlook of the Indian world, to "strengthen and develop and ennoble" the Indian social structure rather than oppose it, as the subcommittee testimony quotes expert Bruce Gaarder of the U.S. Office of Education.

The obvious first move toward achieving the goal is simply to let Indians run their own schools, or, in the case of mixed schools, to serve on school boards more proportionally than is now the case.

Another obvious move is toward bilingual education. This can serve both the welfare of Indian students and the welfare of Indian languages, inextricably bound up together.

The model bilingual public school now in action is the Coral Way elementary school in Dade County, Florida, for the use of refugee Cubans. All subjects are taught half the day in Spanish and half the day in English. For Indian pupils this procedure will require translations into various Indian languages of grade-school textbooks dealing with subjects such as social and natural sciences, history, and mathematics. It will require not only Indian teachers, now rare, but, even rarer, teachers of the same tribal tongue as the pupils, all plus factors of such magnitude for Indian education as to well repay the difficulties involved.

The best known current attempts at bilingual Indian education are the Rough Rock Demonstration School in the Navajo country, and the new Navajo Community College nearby at Many Farms, Arizona. (See "Student Activists: The Navajo Way," by Stan Steiner in the July, 1969, issue of *The Progressive*.) Both were started during the last four years by Dr. Robert Roessel, a white educator with a Navajo wife; both schools have attracted attention from educators all over the world, particularly for their endeavors to make the Indian community an integral part of the educational process. A few more orthodox schools and colleges have made some progress in such redirection. Fort Lewis College, a state college at Durango, Colorado, is white orthodox in entrance requirements but runs an intercultural program well enough that it has more Indian students in its small enrollment than there are in the relatively giant universities of Arizona and New Mexico combined.

A reconstruction of Indian education around the fundamental structures of the Indian world—a world of living together, rather than striving against one another for acquisitions, a world of community—might conceivably offer a vestibule to reconstruction of education even in our mainstream world.

These various possibilities and hopes are now only foreshadowed. The im-

portant news in Indian education is the wholesale transfer of Indian students into public schools. While Indian criticism is fired at Indian education in both BIA and public schools, some of the strongest Indian protests against the public-school switch are aimed at another target altogether: Removing education from the Bureau of Indian Affairs might be a step toward dismemberment of the BIA and thus toward "termination."

Termination is truly a word of ill omen to tribal Indians. Its meaning in Indian affairs is the termination of "Federal responsibility," the responsibility of the Federal Government to act as trustee for Indian lands, rights, and resources; the responsibility to protect Indian groups in these rights and possessions—protect them particularly against states, counties, cities, or other local powers that might divest them of their rights and possessions—and to provide certain services such as education and health.

These responsibilities are based upon treaty promises or other equally legal commitments, in which the Federal Government pledged, in return for cessions of value, to render unto specific Indian groups specific rights and their protection, plus the provision of schools, hospitals, sawmills, teachers, doctors, tools and implements, roads, supplies when needed—all the services of the modern world, to be supplied and administered by the Federal Government rather than administered under state and local jurisdictions, because of well-founded apprehensions that state and local jurisdictions might not be trustworthy in carrying out such promises.

When this Federal responsibility is abrogated, the Indian community thus "terminated" is more than likely to fall prey to disintegration; few Indian communities are rich and strong enough to survive on their own under state and local jurisdictions armed with tax powers and hostile to the Indian community's way of life. The Menominee Nation of Wisconsin, terminated some ten years ago and transformed into Wisconsin's smallest and poorest county, seems already near the end of a losing fight for life: White purchasers are being invited to buy homesites in numbers that will make them a majority in the county. Whether it then remains a white-dominated county, or is absorbed by other counties, or becomes a National Park as some unhappy and concerned Wisconsinites are urging, the Menominee Indian Nation, simply unable to handle the state and local costs piled on it, seems to be headed for the shadows.

For many Indians such community disintegration is a fate to be fought off at all cost. The bulldog survival of some Indian communities through gen-

"The Indians' role is to listen to the experts."

erations of shot and shell (figurative and literal) that would have annihilated a hundred Prussias is little short of miraculous.

Many Americans, in and out of officialdom, have pressed relentlessly for destruction of these, to them, alien Indian communities. Foreign communities of all sorts, from Amish to Orthodox Jewish, can be tolerated so long as the people in them are properly earnest about toil, thrift, and getting ahead; ethnic minorities can be understood as long as all they want is a bigger slice of the American pie. But the Indian communities don't much care for the pie at all, and this is truly intolerable. This is true un-Americanism.

The struggle between those anxious to "break up the tribes" and the Indians who want to live as Indian communities has been going on for a long

time, sometimes underground, sometimes in open view. This struggle underlies much of the action in Indian affairs, even where it may not at first glance seem to be an issue.

A strong terminationist cell in the U.S. Senate is in the very heartland of Indian political matters, the subcommittee on Indian Affairs. The committee's chief professional staffer, James Gamble, originally appointed on the recommendation of Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, has long been, in the words of Ralph Nader, "the chief Congressional worker for termination and assimilation. . . . The intensity of his animosity toward what he considers the privileged position of Indians and the BIA . . . is almost startling!"

Termination does not raise the question of Indians remaining "primitive" or becoming "modern." The quality of being an Indian is not a matter of handicrafts or of grinding corn but of the all-important sense of community, which may well exist more genuinely in overalls or business suits than in feathers and beads. It is the community that is brought into question: It is only the tribal community that lives under the constant menace of termination; urban assimilated Indians are already counted as captured—perhaps prematurely, for it was young urban Indians who engineered the occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, and if any national Indian movement ever develops it will probably be nonreservation urban Indians who set it off. But termination is aimed at reservation communities only, and turns on one issue only, the issue of alienness, pure and simple.

Acceptance of tribal Indians, these communal aliens, perhaps the only genuine aliens left in our world, may face rough times ahead, as paranoia becomes more and more a national characteristic. Not surprisingly, beleaguered Indians have picked up a little paranoia, too, and see stealthy termination plots on every hand. But the menace is indeed real, never entirely absent even under the friendliest of climates. Generally speaking, whenever a politician, white or red, talks of "freeing" Indians from their "wardship restrictions" or demands "freedom" via the abolition of reservations and the BIA, he is probably plugging, openly or covertly, for termination. An Indian community can free itself any time of restrictions, of reservation status, of the BIA, merely by termination of its community life. Most Indian communities would rather struggle along alive. It is not separation from the BIA that Indian communities most want but some control over it.

The termination argument given

widest circulation is that it would be an economy measure—"get the country out of the Indian business," save some money even if it means violating every Indian treaty ever made. In connection with this argument figures are often cited purporting to show the high cost in Federal funds and the large number of employees devoted to so few Indians. This expense is high indeed, even allowing for the normally high pipe-friction costs of bureaucratic operation. However, the apparent high per capita ratio of costs and the number of public employees in the Indian business should be compared to a corresponding figure for the general public of total costs of goods and services and total number of public employees in all jurisdictions combined—Federal and state and local—for the nation as a whole. Such a comparison puts the per capita Government expense for reservation Indians about equal to that for the general population. Politicians viewing Federal Indian costs with righteous indignation are seldom conscious of this fact. Nor do they seem aware that when Indian communities are terminated, the Federal expense, although thereafter more or less masked, remains at least as high, or goes even higher, as the state and local governments demand increased Federal aid in supporting the added expense the state and county and municipality have assumed; states and local jurisdictions are never inclined to forget the legal Federal responsibility for Indians.

Total Government expenditures in all Indian matters since 1781—including, among other details, the cost of buying the United States from its own-

"... few Indian communities are rich and strong enough to survive on their own . . ."

ers—totals about three billion dollars. This is not quite enough to keep our brushfire war in Vietnam running for six weeks. There are many parallels between Vietnam and our Indian wars of the past, but cost is not one of them.

One aspect of termination, the Indian property of considerable value that might then go up for grabs, is an important aspect in the eyes of would-be terminators, and perhaps in some other respects may be more important to our mainstream world than is generally recognized even by terminationists (as I propose to show in the concluding article of this series). The future of the Indian world may conceivably be even wilder than its past.

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"I bring you word from the Great White Father in Washington."

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This Country Was a Lot Better Off When the Indians Were Running It

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By VINE DELORIA Jr.

ON Nov. 9, 1969, a contingent of American Indians, led by Adam Nordwall, a Chippewa from Minnesota, and Richard Oakes, a Mohawk from New York, landed on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay and claimed the 13-acre rock "by right of discovery." The island had been abandoned six and a half years ago, and although there had been various suggestions concerning its disposal nothing had been done to make use of the land. Since there are Federal treaties giving some tribes the right to abandoned Federal property within a tribe's original territory, the Indians of the Bay area felt that they could lay claim to the island.

For nearly a year the United Bay Area Council of American Indians, a confederation of urban Indian organizations, had been talking about submitting a bid for the island to use it as a West Coast Indian cultural center and vocational training headquarters. Then, on Nov. 1, the San Francisco American Indian Center burned down. The center had served an estimated 30,000 Indians in the immediate area and was the focus of activities of the urban Indian community. It became a matter of urgency after that and, as Adam Nordwall said, "it was GO." Another landing, on Nov. 20, by nearly 100 Indians in a swift midnight raid secured the island.

The new inhabitants have made "the Rock" a focal point symbolic of Indian people. Under extreme difficulty they have worked to begin repairing sanitary facilities and buildings. The population has been largely transient, many people have stopped by, looked the situation over for a few days, then gone home, unwilling to put in the tedious work necessary to make the island support a viable community.

THE Alcatraz news stories are somewhat shocking to non-Indians. It is difficult for most Americans to comprehend that there still exists a living community of nearly one million Indians in this country. For many people, Indians have become a species of movie actor periodically dispatched to the Happy Hunting Grounds by John Wayne on the "Late, Late Show." Yet there are some 315 Indian tribal groups in 26 states still functioning as quasi-sovereign nations under treaty status; they range from the mammoth Navajo tribe of some 132,000 with 16 million acres of land to tiny Mission Creek of California with 15 people and a tiny parcel of property. There are over half a million Indians in the cities alone, with the largest concentrations in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Minneapolis and Chicago.

The take-over of Alcatraz is to many Indian people a demonstration of pride in being Indian and a dignified, yet humorous, protest against current conditions existing on the reservations and in the cities. It is this special pride and dignity, the determination to judge life according to one's own values, and the unconquerable conviction that the tribes will not die that has always charac-

terized Indian people as I have known them.

I WAS born in Martin, a border town on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, in the midst of the Depression. My father was an Indian missionary who served 18 chapels on the eastern half of the reservation. In 1934, when I was 1, the Indian Reorganization Act was passed, allowing Indian tribes full rights of self-government for the first time since the late eighteen-sixties. Ever since those days, when the Sioux had agreed to forsake the life of the hunter for that of the farmer, they had been systematically deprived of any voice in decisions affecting their lives and property. Tribal ceremonies and religious practices were forbidden. The reservation was fully controlled by men in Washington, most of whom had never visited a reservation and felt no urge to do so.

The first years on the reservations were extremely hard for the Sioux. Kept confined behind fences they were almost wholly dependent upon Government rations for their food supply. Many died of hunger and malnutrition. Game was scarce and few were allowed to have weapons for fear of another Indian war. In some years there was practically no food available. Other years rations were withheld until the men agreed to farm the tiny pieces of land each family had been given. In desperation many families were forced to eat stray dogs and cats to keep alive.

By World War I, however, many of the Sioux families had developed prosperous ranches. Then the Government stepped in, sold the Indians' cattle for wartime needs, and after the war leased the grazing land to whites, creating wealthy white ranchers and destitute Indian landlords.

With the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act, native ceremonies and practices were given full recognition by Federal authorities. My earliest memories are of

trips along dusty roads to Kyle, a small settlement in the heart of the reservation, to attend the dances. Ancient men, veterans of battles even then considered footnotes to the settlement of the West, brought their costumes out of hiding and walked about the grounds gathering the honors they had earned half a century before. They danced as if the intervening 50 years had been a lost weekend from which they had fully recovered. I remember best Dewey Beard, then in his late 80's and a survivor of the Little Big Horn. Even at that late date Dewey was hesitant to speak of the battle for fear of reprisal. There was no doubt, as one watched the people's expressions, that the Sioux had survived their greatest ordeal and were ready to face whatever the future might bring.

In those days the reservation was isolated and unsettled. Dirt roads held the few mail routes together. One could easily get lost in the wild back country as roads turned into cowpaths without so much as a backward glance. Remote settlements such as Buzzard Basin and Cuny Table were nearly inaccessible. In the spring every bridge on the reservation would be washed out with the first rain and would remain out until late summer. But few people cared. Most of the reservation people, traveling by team and wagon, merely forded the creeks and continued their journey, almost contemptuous of the need for roads and bridges.

THE most memorable event of my early childhood was visiting Wounded Knee where 200 Sioux, including women and children, were slaughtered in 1890 by troopers of the Seventh Cavalry in what is believed to have been a delayed act of vengeance for Custer's defeat. The people were simply lined up and shot down much as was allegedly done, according to newspaper reports, at Songmy. The wounded were left to die in a three-day Dakota blizzard, and when the soldiers re-

turned to the scene after the storm some were still alive and were saved. The massacre was vividly etched in the minds of many of the older reservation people, but it was difficult to find anyone who wanted to talk about it.

Many times, over the years, my father would point out survivors of the massacre, and people on the reservation always went out of their way to help them. For a long time there was a bill in Congress to pay indemnities to the survivors, but the War Department always insisted that it had been a "battle" to stamp out the Ghost Dance religion among the Sioux. This does not, however, explain bayoneted Indian women and children found miles from the scene of the incident.

STRANGELY enough, the Depression was good for Indian reservations, particularly for the people at Pine Ridge. Since their lands had been leased to non-Indians by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they had only a small rent check and the contempt of those who leased their lands to show for their ownership. But the Federal programs devised to solve the national economic crisis were also made available to Indian people, and there was work available for the first time in the history of the reservations.

The Civilian Conservation Corps set up a camp on the reservation and many Indians were hired under the program. In the canyons north of Allen, S. D., a beautiful buffalo pasture was built by the C.C.C., and the whole area was transformed into a recreation wonderland. Indians would come from miles around to see the buffalo and leave with a strange look in their eyes. Many times I stood silently watching while old men talked to the buffalo about the old days. They would conclude by singing a song before respectfully departing, their eyes filled with tears and their minds occupied with the memories of other times and places. It was difficult to determine who was the captive—the buffalo fenced in or the Indian fenced out.

While the rest of America suffered from the temporary deprivation of its luxuries, Indian people had a period of prosperity, as it were. Paychecks were regular. Small cattle herds were started, cars were purchased, new clothes and necessities became available. To a people who had struggled along on \$50 cash income per year, the C.C.C. was the greatest program ever to come along. The Sioux had climbed from absolute deprivation to mere poverty, and this was the best time the reservation ever had.

World War II ended this temporary prosperity. The C.C.C. camps were closed; reservation programs were cut to the bone and social services became virtually nonexistent; "Victory gardens" were suddenly the style, and people began to be aware that a great war was being waged overseas.

The war dispersed the reservation people — nothing ever had. Every day, it seemed, we would be bidding farewell to families as they headed west to work in the defense plants on the Coast.

A great number of Sioux people went west and many of the Sioux on Alcatraz today are their children and relatives. There may now be as many Sioux in California as there are on the reservations in South Dakota because of the great wartime migration.

THOSE who stayed on the reservation had the war brought directly to their doorstep when they were notified that their sons had to go across the seas and fight. Busloads of Sioux boys left the reservation for parts unknown. In many cases even the trip to nearby Martin was a new experience for them, let alone training in Texas, California or Colorado. There were always going-away ceremonies conducted by the older people who admonished the boys to uphold the old tribal traditions and not to fear death. It was not death they feared but living with an unknown people in a distant place.

I was always disappointed with the Government's way of handling Indian servicemen. Indians were simply lost in the shuffle of 3 million men in uniform. Many boys came home on furlough and feared to return. They were not cowards in any sense of the word but the loneliness and boredom of stateside duty was crushing their spirits. They spent months without seeing another Indian. If the Government had recruited all-Indian outfits it would have easily solved this problem and also had the best fighting units in the world at its disposal. I often wonder what an all-Sioux or Apache company, painted and singing its songs, would have done to the morale of elite German panzer units.

After the war Indian veterans straggled back to the reservations and tried to pick up their lives. It was very difficult for them to resume a life of poverty after having seen the affluent outside world. Some spent a few days with the old folks and then left again for the big cities. Over the years they have emerged as leaders of the urban Indian movement. Many of their children are the nationalists of today who are adamant about keeping the reservations they have visited only on vacations. Other veterans stayed on the reservations and entered tribal politics.

THE reservations radically changed after the war. During the Depression there were about five telephones in Martin. If there was a call for you, the man at the hardware store had to come down to your house and get you to answer it. A couple of years after the war a complete dial system was installed that extended to most of the smaller communities on the reservation. Families that had been hundreds of miles from any form of communication were now only minutes away from a telephone.

Roads were built connecting the major communities of the Pine Ridge country. No longer did it take hours to go from one place to another. With these kinds of roads everyone had to have a car. The team and wagon vanished, except



VINE DELORIA Jr. is the author of "Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto," published last year.

ON "THE ROCK": Two young Indians in a corridor of the abandoned Alcatraz prison. The island has become "a focal point symbolic of Indian people" since the new tenants moved in.

for those families who lived at various "camps" in inaccessible canyons pretty much as their ancestors had. (Today, even they have adopted the automobile for traveling long distances in search of work.)

I left the reservation in 1951 when my family moved to Iowa. I went back only once for an extended stay, in the summer of 1955, while on a furlough, and after that I visited only occasionally during summer vacations. In the meantime, I attended college, served a hitch in the Marines, and went to the seminary. After I graduated from the seminary, I took a job with the United Scholarship Service, a private organization devoted to the college and secondary-school education of American Indian and Mexican students. I had spent my last two years of high school in an Eastern preparatory school and so was probably the only Indian my age who knew what an independent Eastern school was like. As the program developed, we soon had some 30 students placed in Eastern schools.

I insisted that all the students who entered the program be able to qualify for scholarships as students and not simply as Indians. I was pretty sure we could beat the white man at his own educational game, which seemed to me the only way to gain his respect. I was soon to find that this was a dangerous attitude to have. The very people who were supporting the program—non-Indians in the national church establishments—accused me of trying to form a colonialist "elite" by insisting that only kids with strong test scores and academic patterns be sent east to school. They wanted to continue the ancient pattern of soft-hearted paternalism toward Indians. I didn't feel we should cry our way into the schools; that sympathy would destroy the students we were trying to help.

IN 1964, while attending the annual convention of the National Congress of American Indians, I was elected its executive director. I learned more about life in the N.C.A.I. in three years than I had in the previous 30. Every conceivable problem that could occur in an Indian society was suddenly thrust at me from 315 different directions. I discovered that I was one of the people who were supposed to solve the problems. The only trouble was that Indian people locally and on the na-

To Indian reservations, the Depression was a boon

tional level were being played off one against the other by clever whites who had either ego or income at stake. While there were many feasible solutions, few could be tried without whites with vested interests working night and day to destroy the unity we were seeking on a national basis.

In the mid-nineteen-sixties, the whole generation that had grown up after World War II and had left the reservations during the fifties to get an education was returning to Indian life as "educated Indians." But we soon knew better. Tribal societies had existed for centuries without going outside themselves for education and information. Yet many of us thought that we would be able to improve the traditional tribal methods. We were wrong.

For three years we ran around the conference circuit attending numerous meetings called to "solve" the Indian problems. We listened to and spoke with anthropologists, historians, sociologists, psychologists, economists, educators and missionaries. We worked with many Government agencies and with every conceivable doctrine, idea and program ever created. At the end of this happy round of consultations the reservation people were still plodding along on their own time schedule, doing the things they considered important. They continued to solve their problems their way in spite of the advice given them by "Indian experts."

By 1967 there was a radical change in thinking on the part of many of us. Conferences were proving unproductive. Where non-Indians had been pushed out to make room for Indian people, they had wormed their way back into power and again controlled the major programs serving Indians. The poverty programs, reservation and university technical assistance groups were dominated by whites who had pushed Indian administrators aside.

Reservation people, meanwhile, were making steady progress in spite of the numerous setbacks suffered by the national Indian community. So, in large part, younger Indian leaders who had been playing the national conference field began working at the local level to build community movements from the ground up. By consolidating

local organizations into power groups they felt that they would be in a better position to influence national thinking.

Robert Hunter, director of the Nevada Intertribal Council, had already begun to build a strong state organization of tribes and communities. In South Dakota, Gerald One Feather, Frank LaPointe and Ray Briggs formed the American Indian Leadership Conference, which quickly welded the educated young Sioux in that state into a strong regional organization active in nearly every phase of Sioux life. Gerald is now running for the prestigious post of chairman of the Oglala Sioux, the largest Sioux tribe, numbering some 15,000 members. Ernie Stevens, an Oneida from Wisconsin, and Lee Cook, a Chippewa from Minnesota, developed a strong program for economic and community development in Arizona. Just recently Ernie has moved into the post of director of the California Intertribal Council, a statewide organization representing some 130,000 California Indians in cities and on the scattered reservations of that state.

BY the fall of 1967, it was apparent that the national Indian scene was collapsing in favor of strong regional organizations, although the major national organizations such as the National Congress of American Indians and the National Indian Youth Council continued to grow. There was yet another factor emerging on the Indian scene: the old-timers of the Depression days had educated a group of younger Indians in the old ways and these people were now becoming a major force in Indian life. Led by Thomas Banyaca of the Hopi, Mad Bear Anderson of the Tuscaroras, Clifton Hill of the Creeks, and Rolling Thunder of the Shoshones, the traditional Indians were forcing the whole Indian community to rethink its understanding of Indian life.

The message of the traditionalists is simple: They demand a return to basic Indian philosophy, establishment of ancient methods of government by open council instead



W. VON RIEGEN

"I've had a few feelers from Washington. They want to give the country back to us."

ties' funding of Indian programs. In general this process, although it has brought a great amount of money into Indian country, has been one of cooptation. Government agencies must justify their appropriation requests every year and can only take chances on spectacular programs that will serve as showcases of progress. They are not willing to invest the capital funds necessary to build viable self-supporting communities on the reservations because these programs do not have an immediate publicity potential. Thus, the Government agencies are forever committed to conducting conferences to discover that one "key" to Indian life that will give them the edge over their rival agencies in the annual appropriations derby.

Churches and foundations have merely purchased an Indian leader or program that conforms with their ideas of what Indian people should be doing. The large foundations have bought up the well-dressed, handsome "new image" Indian who is comfortable in the big cities but virtually helpless at an Indian meeting. Churches have given money to Indians who have been willing to copy black militant activist tactics, and the more violent and insulting the Indian can be, the more the churches seem to love it. They are wallowing in self-guilt and piety over the lot of the poor, yet funding demagogues of their own choosing to speak for the poor.

THERE is an increasing scent of victory in the air in

66 Indian people have managed to maintain a viable, cohesive social order in spite of everything the non-Indian society has thrown at them

of elected officials, a revival of Indian religions and replacement of white laws with Indian customs; in short, a complete return to the ways of the old people. In an age dominated by tribalizing communications media, their message makes a great deal of sense.

But in some areas their thinking is opposed to that of the National Congress of American Indians, which represents officially elected tribal governments organized under the Indian Reorganization Act as Federal corporations. The contemporary problem is therefore one of defining the meaning of "tribe." Is it a traditionally organized band of Indians following customs with medicine men and chiefs dominating the policies of the tribe, or is it a modern corporate structure attempting to compromise at least in part with modern white culture?

The problem has been complicated by private foundations' and Government agen-

Indian country these days. The mood is comparable to the old days of the Depression when the men began to dance once again. As the Indian movement gathers momentum and individual Indians cast their lot with the tribe, it will become apparent that not only will Indians survive the electronic world of Marshall McLuhan, they will thrive in it. At the present time everyone is watching how mainstream America will handle the issues of pollution, poverty, crime and racism when it does not fundamentally understand the issues. Knowing the importance of tribal survival, Indian people are speaking more and more of sovereignty, of the great political technique of the open council, and of the need for gaining the community's consensus on all programs before putting them into effect.

One can watch this same issue emerge in white society as the "Woodstock Nation," the "Blackstone Nation" and the block organizations are

developed. This is a full tribalizing process involving a nontribal people, and it is apparent that some people are frightened by it. But it is the kind of social phenomenon upon which Indians feast.

In 1965 I had a long conversation with an old Papago. I was trying to get the tribe to pay its dues to the National Congress of American Indians and I had asked him to speak to the tribal council for me. He said that he would but that the Papagos didn't really need the N.C.A.I. They were like, he told me, the old mountain in the distance. The Spanish had come and dominated them for 300 years and then left. The Mexicans had come and ruled them for a century, but they also left. "The Americans," he said, "have been here only about 80 years. They, too, will vanish, but the Papagos and the mountain will always be here."

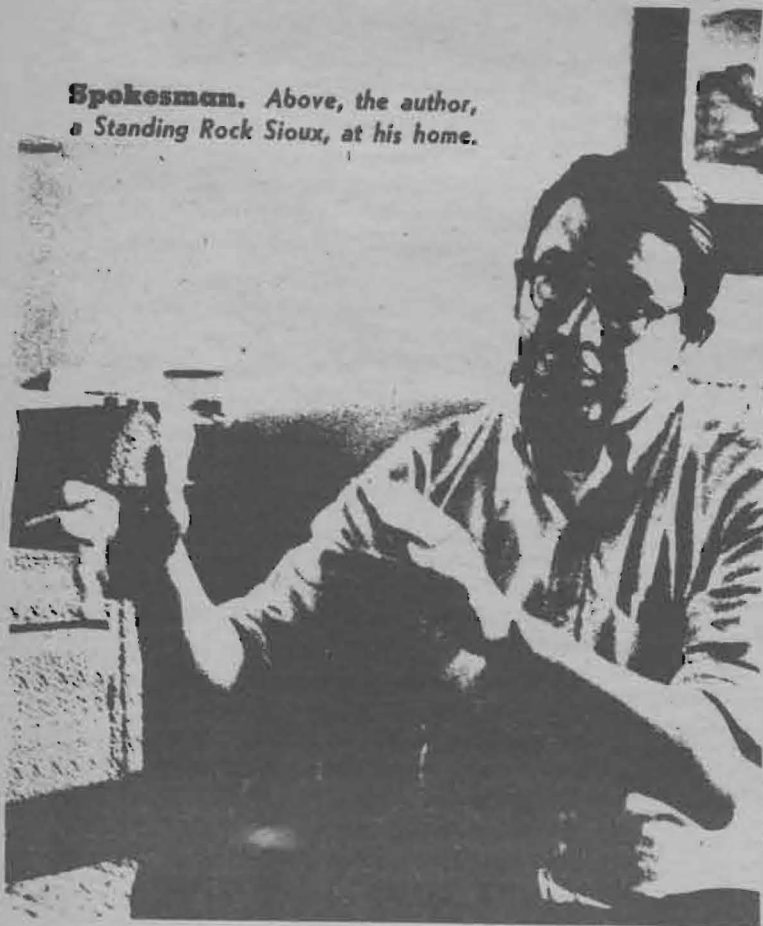
I WISH the Government would give Alcatraz to the Indians now occupying it. They want to create five centers on the island. One center would be for a North American studies program; another would be a spiritual and medical center where Indian religions and medicines would be used and studied. A third center would concentrate on ecological studies based on an Indian view of nature—that man should live with the land and not simply on it. A job-training center and a museum would also be founded on the island. Certain of these programs would obviously require Federal assistance.

Some people may object to this approach, yet Health, Education and Welfare gave out \$10-million last year to non-Indians to study Indians. Not one single dollar went to an Indian scholar or researcher to present the point of view of Indian people. And the studies done by non-Indians added nothing to what was already known about Indians.

Indian people have managed to maintain a viable and cohesive social order in spite of everything the non-Indian society has thrown at them in an effort to break the tribal structure. At the same time, non-Indian society has created a monstrosity of a culture where people starve while the granaries are filled and the sun can never break through the smog.

By making Alcatraz an experimental Indian center operated and planned by Indian people, we would be given a chance to see what we could do toward developing answers to modern social problems. Ancient tribalism can be incorporated with modern technology in an urban setting. Perhaps we would not succeed in the effort, but the Government is spending billions every year and still the situation is rapidly growing worse. It just seems to a lot of Indians that this continent was a lot better off when we were running it. ■

Spokesman. Above, the author, a Standing Rock Sioux, at his home.



Divvying Up Alaska

Anchorage

Anchorage was still waiting for its first real snow November 25, though the thermometer never climbed higher than five above zero. Inside a hotel conference room about 20 Alaska business leaders—clearly frustrated and almost scared—huddled together, away from the cold and the 3 p.m. gloom.

The source of frustration was 4500 miles east by southeast, in Washington, D.C., where the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs committee was working to keep a pledge to Alaska's 55,000 Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut citizens. Committee Chairman Henry Jackson had promised the Natives that a bill to extinguish their claims on most of Alaska's land would be out of the Senate this year. Reports reaching the businessmen in Anchorage indicated that this first committee markup session went well for the Natives and for their company of lawyers headed by Arthur Goldberg, Ramsey Clark and Thomas Kuchel.

After 102 years of US rule, it appeared Alaska's original inhabitants were on their way to winning a substantial part of their compensation demands for 40 million acres (11 percent of Alaska's land mass), \$500 million in cash (about \$10,000 a Native, the money to be distributed to various development corporations), and a perpetual two percent from the future mineral production of all public lands in Alaska. In return the Natives would surrender their claims to another 300 million acres of land they once roamed freely. Interestingly, the negotiations were taking place between the Alaska Federation of Natives and the Senate committee. The state of Alaska was nowhere in evidence, nor had the state submitted anything like its own settlement proposal.

Soon the bankers and oilmen, the publisher and the television station owner in the hotel got a cheering phone call. It came from Governor Keith Miller's top aide in Juneau, Henry Pratt, who filled everybody in on the state's first detailed position paper on the subject, released hours before. The governor thought that six million acres would be more than enough for the Natives, that in no case should they get lands that the state wanted, and that the Natives should not get revenue from public lands at all. Naturally, the governor said, the Natives should not get rights to such leasable minerals as gas and oil on their lands.

As to the AFN bill in general: "I can only consider it as unacceptable, and regret that false hopes have been raised among our Native peoples by the Eastern attorneys representing them."

Miller added he was dispatching state Attorney General Kent Edwards to Washington to explain the state's viewpoint, finally formulated a year and a half after the first Senate hearings on the subject and a month after the final House hearings. The state Chamber of Commerce went on record supporting Miller in principle; so did more than 1000 people in this state of 283,000, who signed a petition backing the governor within three days of his announcement.

The news media have been covering the land-claims battle dutifully, though not always with as much objectivity as Spiro Agnew says he wants. Commented the Anchorage Daily Times, the state's largest newspaper, October 18 in its lead editorial titled "The Goldberg Bill": "The proposed bill . . . is a bombshell packaged in an 85-page bundle now simmering before the Interior committees of Congress . . . Some of the provisions are shocking." It went on to say that the royalty-sharing provision alone "would amount to hundreds of billions of dollars," and complained that the bill's "total effect would be to cripple the development of Alaska. . . ."

"And this," said the Times, "is what the congressional committees must realize, and that is why the Goldberg Line that has been fed to the Alaska Native Federation is a threat to all the people of the 49th state." The worst example of "gutter journalism" he ever saw, commented Oklahoma Representative Ed Edmondson, here at the time. Some weeks later the much smaller Anchorage Daily News pointed out that for the override to bring the Natives \$100 billion the lands would have to produce minerals worth \$5 trillion. But the damage had been done.

What the Times and the governor fail to realize, or



ENGELHARDT

'This Is The Law Of The Yukon, That Only The Strong Shall Thrive; That Surely The Weak Shall Perish, And Only The Fit Survive'

—Robert Service

take seriously, is that the best way to tie up Alaskan development is to force the Natives into court. That almost certainly would cloud title to most of Alaska for a decade or more. Out of responsibility as much as self-interest, the Natives choose to opt for a congressional settlement. They've made virtually every policy decision on their own. AFN members drafted every important policy position in their bill.

Goldberg's entrance into the case has been fraught with controversy from the start eight months ago. The Natives sought out the former Supreme Court Justice and Secretary of Labor, through his son Robert, an Anchorage lawyer. At first the several dozen lawyers who represent the 280-odd Native villages resented Goldberg's presence—and his decision not to take a fee for himself and insistence that their fees be held within reasonable limits. Though the fight between the Natives and some of their regional attorneys grew bitter, the AFN triumphed and Goldberg took the case. That was the first real test of strength for the four-year-old organization, and it left the AFN stronger, more cohesive than before. The Natives hunted over or lived on virtually all Alaska before the white man came. And the coming of the white man resulted in the same misery that plagues nearly all America's aboriginal occupants today—but it's worse in Alaska. Village income averages about one quarter that of white Alaskans. One out of ten young Natives graduates from high school. The average age at death is 35. Before the white man came bringing syphilis, TB and gunpowder, the Natives had a viable culture. It was the white man who invaded—often destroyed—their hunting grounds, who taught them that the Native culture was inferior while providing a half-cooked version of his own.

The Natives have used or occupied virtually all of Alaska since time immemorial. This creates what is known as aboriginal title, which means the federal government can seize Native land but third parties like the state can't. Congress in 1884 recognized the Natives' right to their lands, though it postponed the conveying of the white man's title in fee. And in the

Alaska Statehood Act, the state disclaimed all right and title to lands which may be held by the Natives.

Moreover in the Statehood Act, Congress, ten years ago generously gave Alaska the right to select 103 million acres out of its 375 million acre or 586,000 square mile area from the public domain. It also gave the state 90 percent of the government proceeds from mineral production on federal lands. It has never granted a state so high a percentage—let alone total area—of land. It had always given states a straight 37½ percent of the mineral revenue from federal lands. Congress was generous because Alaska then had no economy to speak of. Now, of course, Alaska is oil rich beyond anyone's wildest dreams. It took in \$903 million in bonuses alone September 10, when land on the North Slope was leased to oil companies.

The Natives say that some form of revenue sharing could well be the state's best method of preserving its favored position. If this is true—and there are indications from Alaska's congressional delegation that it is—then the Miller administration is hurting the very interests it seeks to protect. On another count the state view is at best myopic, because it ignores the hugely beneficial impact a settlement would have upon the economy. The Natives today have one-fourth the per capita income of whites. If they earned, say, half as much, their contribution to the Alaskan economy would be huge.

On yet a third front, Miller's position could lead to a breakdown in the delicate negotiations between the Natives and Congress. If this happens and the Natives sue to protect their lands, then the \$900 million Trans Alaska Pipeline from the North Slope to the Gulf of Alaska and other forms of development might be stalled for a decade.

Whether the state's campaign is having an effect is hard to say. The Senate Interior Committee has not even settled on a date for its next markup session. The committee said it wanted a bill out by the end of the year, giving the House all of 1971 to pass its version and reach, if necessary, a compromise. But the clock is ticking away.

Stephen Brent

Indians Score in Pipeline Fight

39

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sixty-six Indians yesterday stopped—for a while anyhow—the \$1 billion oil pipeline the white man wants to build across Alaska.

U.S. District Court Judge George L. Hart Jr. ruled that the Interior Department cannot run the pipeline and parallel road across Stevens Village, Alaska, without the consent of the 66 Indians who live there.

Lawyers for the Indians described the ruling as a big psychological victory for Indian rights and predicted similar suits would be filed against the pipeline in the future.

Judge Hart told Justice Department lawyers representing Interior that they could seek relief from his stop order after 10 days.

Hart told the contending lawyers that in the meantime "all you gentlemen might get busy and take this matter out of the courts entirely."

An out-of-court settlement, according to lawyers connected with the case, would require oil companies that want to build the pipeline to compensate the Indians for their land—either with money or jobs.

Secretary of Interior Walter J. Hickel appeared on the verge of issuing permits for the road to be used for building the pipeline.

Yesterday's court action prevents him from going ahead with the planned route for either the road or pipeline—at least for 10 days and perhaps longer.

Justice Department lawyers said they did know whether Interior would try to change the route of road and pipeline to avoid prolonging the Indian suit or make a Custer-like stand.

Judge Hart's stop order was a preliminary injunction—although he used the term temporary restraining order at one point—which could be followed by a full-blown trial if a settlement cannot be reached out of court.

Daniel A. Rezneck, attorney for Stevens Village and four other Indian villages along the pipeline route, indicated in his presentation that his clients were not bent on stopping the pipeline outright but wanted compensation.

Herbert Pittle, Justice Department lawyer arguing the case for Interior, said the Indians had no legal claim to the lands where the pipeline would go.

Judge Hart ruled that under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934—an act designed to assert political rights for the natives. The pipeline would pass through a corner of the lands claimed by the village.

The road and pipeline, Hart said, could not be put through Stevens Village without their consent as he read the law.

Indians in four other Alaskan villages—Allakaket, Bettles, Minto and Rampart—were not covered in Hart's order, either because the pipeline was not routed through their territory or because they did not qualify as political entities under the 1934 reorganization act.

In response to claims yesterday that the pipeline imperiled the Indians and their natural surroundings, Hart said he was confining himself to whether the pipeline "is being done legally," and not to the environmental issues.

However, Alaskan attorney Rezneck put into the record statements from government officials that raised fresh doubts about the safety of putting a pipeline in Alaska's sensitive and

shifting tundra. The oil coming out of Alaska's North Slope is about 180 degrees Fahrenheit when it goes into the pipe.

A group of government specialists analyzing the pipeline wrote in a March 25 memorandum that "TAPS (Trans Alaska Pipeline Systems) has not demonstrated acceptable fundamental design criteria for below-ground construction in permafrost of a hot oil pipeline that would be reasonably safe from failure."

Three conservation organizations will seek a restraining order in U.S. District Court here today on the pipeline. They failed yesterday to get Hart to consolidate their suit with the one on Indian rights.



April 2, 1970

The Washington Post

Broken line indicates the proposed Alaska oil pipeline.

Nixon Aide Asks Pipeline Hearings

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

The plan for the \$1 billion oil pipeline to go across Alaska has changed so much since it was first discussed that public hearings are essential, according to an internal White House memorandum.

Secretary of Interior Walter J. Hickel has been resisting pleas for new hearings on the pipeline.

John L. Buckley, technical assistant in President Nixon's Office of Science and Technology, wrote that "the earlier hearings on the pipeline were based on the assumption that the lines would all be underground."

Now, however, because of such dangers as earthquakes and uncertainties about laying a pipe filled with hot oil in the semi-frozen tundra of Alaska, much of the 400 mile line would be put above ground.

"The issue that will remain for decision," Buckley wrote, "is the acceptability of portions of the line being above

ground. There are three considerations here:

"Safety of the pipeline in terms of physical damage from the odd rifle bullet; effects of what amounts to a 10-foot barrier to the movement of wildlife populations such as caribou herds; the visual impact of a four-foot diameter pipe plus another foot of insulation placed on pilings on top of a gravel pad extending endlessly across a landscape that in places has little topography and less vegetation."

While it is technically feasible to run a pipeline from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez, Buckley said, an "undetermined amount of the line will have to be above ground... A series of hearings to inform the public and to assess their reaction to this new plan would seem an essential before issuance of a permit."

Buckley confirmed yesterday that his memo, sent to the White House Jan. 6, 1970, reflected his current position regarding the Trans Alaska Pipeline Systems (TAPS).

Alaska land settlement bill cleared

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Senate interior Committee completed action on a bill Tuesday to give Alaska natives \$1 billion in cash and mineral royalties and 4.5 million acres of land as settlement of land claims.

Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D Wash., committee chairman, called the settlement "fair, just and generous" and said he hoped the full Senate will act on the bill within a month.

The formula worked out by the committee is designed to settle aboriginal ownership claims of nearly 60,000 Eskimos, Aleuts and Indians.

Jackson said the basic features of the plan would give the natives:

—Cash payments of \$500 million to be appropriated by Congress and paid through newly created native corporations over 12 years.

—A 2 per cent share of all future mineral and oil revenues from all public lands in Alaska, both federal and state, over a 25-year period with

a guarantee of \$500 million.

—Land grants totaling 4.5 million acres plus the use of another 3 million acres for logging, trapping, hunting, fishing, reindeer grazing and other traditional purposes.

Another provision would phase out the Bureau of Indian Affairs programs in Alaska after five years.

Jackson noted that the 2 per cent mineral and oil royalties are not retroactive, so the bill does not include a share of the \$900 million collected by the state of Alaska last September in the North Slope oil-lease sale.

"This is not social welfare legislation," Jackson said. "This is compensation for the taking of rights."

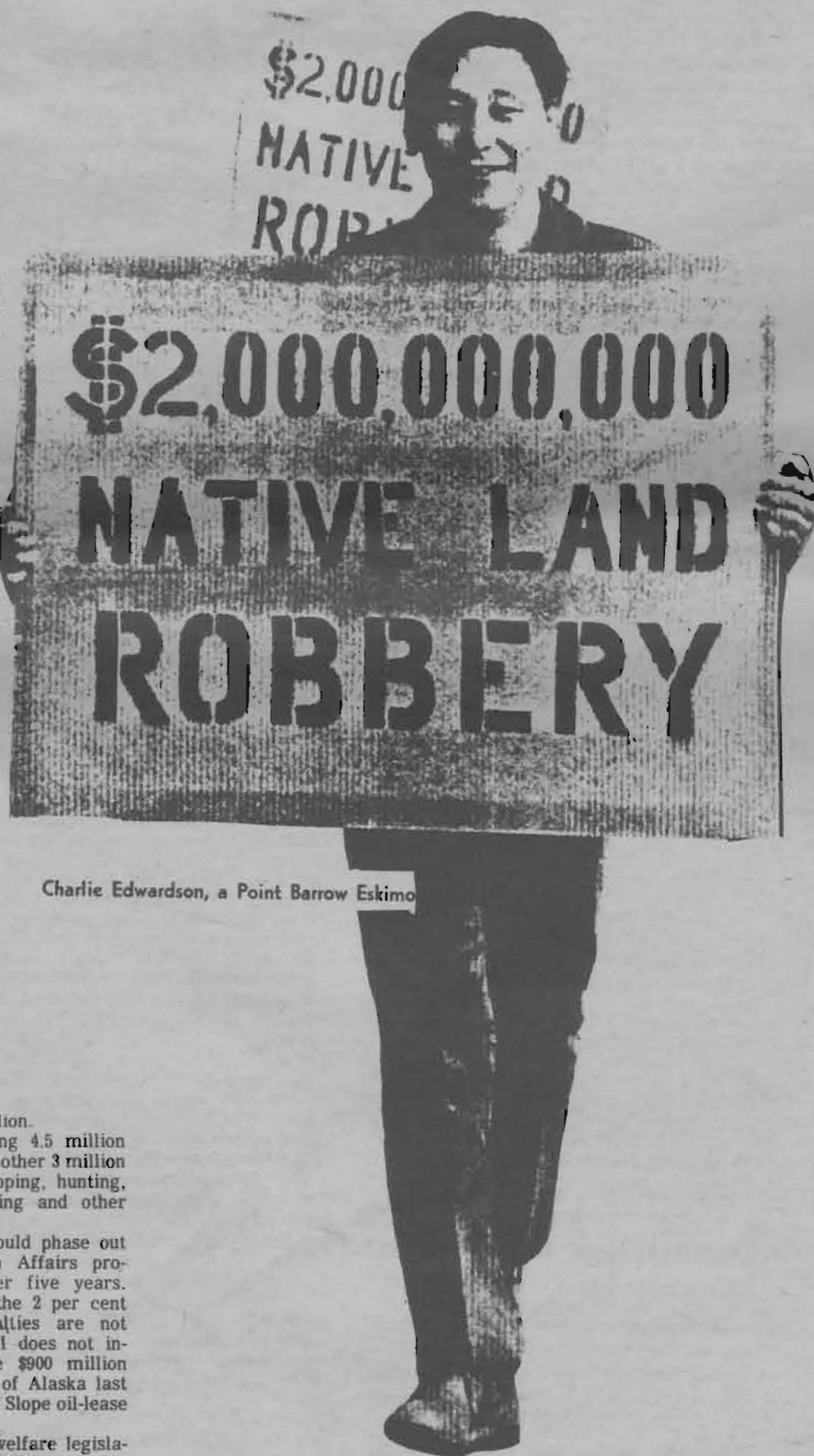
"This measure will, of course, extinguish all aboriginal land claims of the Alaska natives and should help remove the cloud of uncertainty that has been hanging over Alaska for more than 100 years."

While we, the native people, are forced to wait and sit in spite of our screams of injustices on the proposed settlements for our land claims, the oil companies, the able few, and all awe-struck would-be millionaires are fighting over the very lands that we have claimed and to which we are legally entitled...

—Eben Hopson, Eskimo executive director, Arctic North Slope Native Association, quoted by TUNDRA TIMES

The state is about to move in on us and surface some of our streets and put down concrete sidewalks, curbs and gutters. They call this progress... It seems to me that if we here in Nome want to wade through mud sometimes and get dust blown in our eyes at other times, it should be our own damned business...

—Albro Gregory, Editor NOME NUGGET



Charlie Edwardson, a Point Barrow Eskimo

The Oil Rush of '70

THE MAKING OF A COUNTER CULTURE By Theodore Roszak, Doubleday, \$7.95, Paperback edition, Anchor, \$1.95.

The central theme of the book is the magical view of the world that has been the world view of man for millennia and the chief reason for man's survival, as against the scientific-technological world view which prevails today in the White Western world, and is threatening to destroy not only man but the whole planet.

In addition to and in support of his thesis he draws on older cultures, ecologically Nature-oriented cultures. To the shamans of such cultures, Nature was never "it," it was always "you" or the respectful "thou." Here, for example is a Wintu (California) Indian describing the contrasting relationship of her shamanistic culture and

that of the white man to a common environment. The white people never cared for land or deer or bear. When we Indians kill meat, we eat it all up. When we dig roots, we make little holes... We shake down acorns and pine-nuts. We don't chop down the trees. We only use dead wood. But the white people plow up the ground, pull up the trees, kill everything. The tree says, "Don't, I am sore. Don't hurt me." But they chop it down and cut it up. The spirit of the land hates them... The Indians never hurt anything, but the white people destroy all. They blast rocks and scatter them on the ground. The rock says "Don't! You are hurting me." But the white people pay no attention. When the Indians use rocks, they take little round ones for their cooking... How can the spirit of the earth like the white man?... Everywhere the white man has touched it, it is sore.

On which Roszak comments with brilliant insight,

"The tree says..." "the rock says...": nothing could more easily express the difference between the scientific and the magical visions of nature. The Indian woman has been taught to hear voices of plant and stone; we have been taught to "pay no attention." The essence of magic lies in just this sense that man and not-man can stand on communicable terms with one another. The relationship is not that of In-Here impassively observing Out-There, but of man carrying on a personal transaction with forces in his environment which are known to be turbulently, perhaps menacingly alive. The shaman enters into the field of these forces warmly, sensuously; and because he approaches with respect, they welcome him and permit him to strive and bargain with them.

It is not a relationship the presences accept with all comers. Unlike the scientific experiment, which is depersonalized and so should work for anyone who performs it, the magical relationship is available only to those chosen by the presences themselves. The shaman is ordinarily one who discovers his vocation upon being seized up by powers beyond his comprehension. He does not initially train for the position as for a prefabricated office; this is a development that ensues when the shaman's calling becomes routinized into the formal role of the priest.

— LOS ANGELES FREE PRESS

When Salmon Swam

In the St. Lawrence

The reprint of an 1846 volume of Smith's *Canadian Gazetteer*, "comprising statistical and general information respecting all parts of the Upper Province or Canada West" contains this intelligence:

"In the St. Lawrence and rivers running into Lake Ontario, large quantities of fine salmon have formerly been taken during the migration of fish in the spring and autumn. In the river Credit in particular, a wagon load has frequently been taken by two or three persons in one night; but for the last two or three seasons the fish have almost deserted the streams, the reasons of which is supposed to be the great number of dams erected across them... and the immense quantity of sawdust which is... floating down them."

Salmon in the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario! How incredible that sounds; how sad the story. Man didn't waste any time to start his polluting and he hasn't yet begun to stop.

Teaching a Lesson

The Quinault Indians may have been legally wrong to close 25 miles of Pacific Ocean beach on their reservation to white men. But they have a strong moral point.

Closing the beach was a protest against some of the fallout brought by the white man's civilization. Indian complaints included:

- Littering of the beach by the thousands of tourist visitors.
- Thefts of Indian fish nets drying on the beach.
- Removal of large quantities of driftwood.
- Defacing of the legendary Point Grenville rocks.

Indians seem to have a greater interest than the average American in protecting the natural environment. In this instance the Indians decided it was time to teach the white man a lesson.

Indians Revered the Land ⁴⁰

Indians always loved and revered their land. Land to them was something to be cherished. Land is Mother Earth from which life springs and in whose breast lie the bones of their forebearers. Land is something used and never sold.

"Sell a country? Why not sell the air, the clouds and the great sea—did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children?"

White men have never understood the natives' feeling for land. That is why so many died when they were dispossessed. What will a federal reserve note give them?

This land should be given back to the native Americans. This government was born and raised in violence. It is no wonder we are reaping what we have sowed.

JACQUELIN R. PLATT,

POLLUTING THE POLLUTER'S POOL



"White man's smoke signals spell disaster."

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS) -- Some five gallons of motor oil was dumped into the pool of the Standard Oil company building's fountain in downtown San Francisco January 26. A sign was left which read, "Santa Barbara Strikes Back." The act marked the first anniversary of the pollution of Santa Barbara's beaches which was caused by a massive offshore oil leak.



IN 1873 AN AMERICAN NAMED WALKING COYOTE WHO LIVED IN MONTANA HAD SAVED FOUR CALVES -- ALL THAT WERE LEFT OF THE MILLIONS OF BUFFALO THAT ONCE ROAMED THE PRAIRIE LANDS OF CANADA & THE U.S.A. ... THESE CALVES GREW AND MULTIPLIED AND WERE THE FOUNDATION OF THE BUFFALO HERDS OF TODAY. IN 1905 THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT, THROUGH AGENTS IN THE U.S., PURCHASED 7/8 HEAD FOR NATIONAL PARKLANDS IN CANADA AND OVER THE YEARS THESE HAVE GROWN TO SIZEABLE HERDS

Corn is inextricably bound with the mythology and religion of many ancient peoples. Being so close to nature, they realized intrinsically that their very existence depended solely on the earth, which led to the worship of corn. In the Spring there were fertility rites or sacrifices and gala celebrations took place in the Fall when the harvest came in. Although we frown upon human sacrifice, we should understand that it represents a deep gratitude, as well as an attempt, however cruel, to put back in the earth that which had been taken out: Life. The people of today, in their alienation, believe that everything is there for the taking and nothing need be reciprocated. This type of blind arrogance can only lead to eventual destruction of all the fertile lands. "Primitive" man, on the other hand, was very much aware of the give and take, cause and effect nature of ecological relationships.

"According to the Aztecs, Mayas and Zapotecs, man was made of corn. The Popul-Vuh, a book of the cosmology, religion and history of the Maya-Quiche Indians of Guatemala, states that 'corn... entered into the flesh of man. This was his blood, from this blood of man was made... Ixmucane made nine drinks, and from this food came the force and fatness and with it they created the muscles and the vigor of man. The arms and legs of man were made of corn dough. Only corn dough went into the flesh of our parents...'"

Gene D. Matlock, Aztec and Mayan Medicine Philosophy

Soliloquy

by Hugo

FISHING SURE ISN'T WHAT IT USED TO BE...



... WHEN I PULLED THIS ONE OUT OF THAT STINKING, DIRTY WATER...



... IT SAID THANK YOU!



THE NEW YORK TIMES JANUARY 18, 1970

The Saving of the Everglades

President Nixon rightly calls abandonment of the projected jetport near the Everglades National Park "an outstanding victory for conservation." It is, in fact, a victory that goes beyond even the saving of that priceless natural haven. It is a hopeful indication of what can be done to save the remains of a magnificent national heritage when groups of private citizens are wise enough and determined enough to work together to that end.

If a new site is found as quickly as the need dictates, and if real estate developers can be discouraged from invading the Big Cypress Swamp where the jetport was to have been located, the Everglades will be permanently saved. That will indeed be a victory, for as Buffalo Tiger, a local Indian chief observed, "You can't make it. You can't buy it. And when it's gone, it's gone forever."

Spray Killed, Indians Say

POCATELLO, Idaho AP—Charges of discrimination and intimidation were leveled against city, state and federal officials Saturday by representatives of the Bannock-Shoshone Indian tribe and the chairman of a Boise civil rights organization.

The Idaho Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights heard testimony for about four hours that dealt mainly with alleged injustice by law enforcement officers and the courts.

Chairman Don J. McClenahan of Boise, termed the testimony "rather shocking" and said a hearing will be scheduled in which all charges will be recorded and an official report made to the federal commission.

KILLED VINES

Tribal representatives claimed that indiscriminate aerial spraying on the Fort Hall Reservation last summer to kill potato vines killed chickens, horses, sheep, cats, cattle and geese and caused children and adult tribe member to become seriously ill.

The Rev. James Hubbard, chairman of the Citizens for Civic Unity in Boise, said there was documented evidence of "subtle, sophisticated discrimination against members of minority groups in eight Idaho counties." Hubbard said he could cite 20 specific cases from Ada County.

"It seems that the idea of a minority group persons filing a complaint is a right we don't enjoy in Ada County," he said.

Hubbard said intimidation on the part of police has resulted in a reluctance to even call for help in many cases.

Aliens
in
our
own
world



What! You still don't own any mutual funds?

March 9, 1970

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Red Man's Plight Urban Indians, Driven To Cities by Poverty, Find Harsh Existence

Many Drift, Turn to Drink
As Search for Jobs Fails;
Activist Groups Spring Up

'Uncle Tomahawks' & 'Apples'

By BARRARA ISENBERG

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LOS ANGELES Drunk, the stony-faced young Indian weaves up the stairs, dragging a faded blue windbreaker in one hand. His eyes focus dully on a sign at the top. It says, "Indians Discovered America."

His feet carry him up and into the Indian Welcome House. Framed in the doorway, he blinks out all he has come to say. "I'm done for, no damn good," he cries. "I don't care about nothin'!" Then he is gone, back to the alien streets of an alien city.

Every year thousands like him come to the nation's cities, driven there by privation on the Indian reservations. Often arriving with no job, no training, no prospects, only with the name of a relative and hope for a new life, the newcomer finds the metropolis almost as harsh as—and sometimes more so than—the place he left.

He suffers from massive culture shock; Afghanistan would be no more strange to many American Indians than Los Angeles. This contributes to an extraordinary rate of alcoholism that makes it all the harder for the migrant to keep and find a job. But still the Indians come.

A Growing Bitterness

According to social workers, cultural anthropologists and others, Indians already have formed an urban poverty-stricken group that ranks as one of the most oppressed and least understood of all. Talks with urban Indians reveal a growing bitterness against the white man and his ways—and a growing militancy, recently exemplified by the Indian take-over of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay and the growth of Indian organizations battling for Indian rights. "Urban Indians have become the cutting edge of the new Indian nationalism," says Vine Deloria Jr., former executive director of the National Congress of American Indians and author of the book "Custer Died for Your Sins," a polemic against white society's handling of the Indian.

The activist spirit seems certain to grow along with urban migration. The 1960 census showed 48% of the American Indian population living in cities and towns; the 1970 count is expected to reveal anywhere from 55% to 65% living there.

Many make their way to cities in the Midwest and West, such as Denver, Minneapolis and Los Angeles. The Indian population of Los Angeles alone has tripled in the past 20 years to some 60,000; as many as one of every 11 Indians in the U.S. is believed to live in this area, and more keep coming every day. (The nationwide Indian population is estimated variously at from 650,000 to one million.)

"We are just transported from one poverty pocket to another, that's all," says Lehman Brightman, the militant president of United Native Americans, a San Francisco-based or-

Capitalism not

for the Indian

A study by the Joint Economic Committee advises the government that it's wrong to shove capitalism down the throat of the American Indian.

The two-volume study, entitled "Toward Economic Development for Native American Communities," has interesting implications for all of us non-Indians at home and abroad.

"If economic development among the Indians is to succeed," says the study, "it must be compatible with the Indians' own sense of values. It is now widely recognized as unfortunately it was not in the past, that the Indian does not wish to abandon his identity and his traditional cultural and social values and to become completely assimilated into an acquisitive, capitalistic society."

"Indian cultures place high value on the preservation of the natural environment, on sharing of material goods among the extended family and the tribe, and on maintaining a life style which allows time for quiet leisure and contemplation."

"The Indians have no wish to abandon these values in favor of industrial society's emphasis on individual competitive achievement and intensive activity. The problem the Indians face is to come to terms with the surrounding industrial society in a way which permits them to maintain a decent standard of living while still remaining true to their own culture."

"Achieving compatibility between these two somewhat conflicting objectives is obviously not easily done. Failure to recognize and solve this conflict is undoubtedly a large factor in explaining the overall failure of past Federal efforts to assist the Indians."

It's true that by virtually every available measure of economic and social well-being used in our gross national product society, American Indians remain the most destitute of all groups. Yet they do have something that the blacks don't have and which changes their situation in an interesting way—land.

The Indian reservation land may be too small to support the old style Indian culture of hunting and grazing. Agriculture has likewise been ruled out for those tribes once interested in it. But Indian lands do contain valuable forest and mineral resources and its a question of how the American corporate state will permit these resources to be exploited.

"One problem which severely complicates advan-

ganization. His group, which puts out bumper stickers ("Custer Had It Coming") and backs the Indians holding Alcatraz, also is pressing for the ouster of Interior Secretary Walter Hickel, whose department oversees Indian affairs.

Why Keep Coming?

If the city is so unkind, why do Indians keep coming? Migrants reply that the reservation is even worse. Indian unemployment there currently runs about 40%; the income of many families is below \$500 a year; the infant mortality rate is many times the national average; the average life expectancy is only two-thirds the national average, and the vast majority of reservation Indians are poorly housed and educated.

"There is no choice at all. If we want to work, to have some chance, we must go elsewhere: few of us would leave if opportunity existed on the reservation," says Jess Sixkiller, executive director of Chicago-based American Indians United, another activist group.

Many Indians have been resettled in cities under relocation and job training programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), an arm of the Interior Department—and a body accused by many Indians of bureaucratic fumbling and paternalism. (Ironically, the BIA itself is the nation's biggest employer of Indians. Its present commissioner, Louis Bruce, is the third Indian to head the agency.)

Critics maintain that BIA training programs are too heavily weighted toward manual skills in declining demand. James Wilson, an Indian who is director of the Indian division of the Office of Economic Opportunity, says too many Indians are being trained in trades like welding, which is being shoved toward obsolescence by automation, and too few are being trained in white-collar skills. He claims three of every four urban Indians he has come in contact with are underemployed.

Little Relationship

Many BIA-trained Indians are placed in jobs that have little or no relation to their training. The agency concedes that 22% of its trainees in fiscal 1969 "elected" to take such positions but says the rest were placed in jobs related to training.

Trudy Felix Brightman, an Indian in San Francisco, says the BIA brought her there for training as a dental technician, couldn't find her a job and finally sent her to work in a laundry as a clothes presser. Most of her friends, she says, left the dental training course only to wind up in factories. "That's one of the really criminal things the BIA does," argues a social worker familiar with Indian problems. "Bring somebody to the city, train him as a mechanic and then let him wind up doing something else."

Joe Vasquez, president of the Los Angeles Indian Center and a member of the city human rights commission, declares: "After 180 years, the Indian is still unable to find his place in a

white-dominated society. All the BIA does is manipulate our assets." Replies a BIA spokesman in Washington: "Obviously, we have shortcomings. We just don't have enough money to train everyone who might want to be trained, and it is hard for us to recruit people for our own agency and train them in the complexities of Indian problems."

But deficient as the existing BIA programs may be, they do at least offer urban migrants the hope of learning some skill and the chance of finding a job that will pay a survival wage. BIA says graduates of its urban programs in fiscal 1969 found employment that paid an average of \$2.70 an hour for men and \$1.93 for women. Also, Indians relocated and trained by BIA get a monthly stipend until they are placed.

That is more than most Indian migrants to the cities can expect when left to their own devices. Besides their lack of job skills, many also lack proficiency in English, making the search for work all the more difficult. Often they are joined in their wanderings by wash-outs from BIA relocation programs who are unable to find or keep jobs.

The result is an aimless drifting of Indians back to the reservations or from city to city. The BIA doesn't know the extent of these wanderings; it keeps no track of them, and it doesn't even keep current figures on how long the people it relocates stay in their jobs and cities. But a 1965 BIA study showed 40% of the relocated Indians returned to their reservations.

The total for migrants coming on their own is probably much higher. UCLA anthropologist Theodore Graves, who studied Indian newcomers to Denver, found that less than half stayed more than six months. Many went to other cities, and the rest returned to the reservation—only to find themselves equally ill-equipped to work there and with even less opportunity. For many Indians, this began a cycle of urban migration and return, each phase ending in fresh personal failure.

One of the first problems confronting many Indians making the transition from reservation to city life is the need to become familiar with the complexities of the modern world. Fred Connor, an Indian who came to Los Angeles five years ago, says he would bang on the back doors of buses, not understanding why they didn't open, and wander aimlessly through "the canyons whites call streets."

But there are deeper-rooted problems. Anthropologists say that Indians are quick to share with fellow tribesmen whatever they have, place little importance on saving money for a rainy day and don't try to keep up with the Joneses. In the city, they are thrust into a society that frowns on what whites would call "handouts," where thrift is a virtue and where fierce individual competition for jobs and status is the rule.

City Indians also complain that they are a forgotten minority. While antipoverty programs

tageous exploitation of these resources is the complicated land ownership situation," the study says. "A substantial fraction of the Indian lands has at various times been awarded to individual Indians and held in trust for them by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Through the process of inheritance, many of these parcels of land have come into multiple ownership."

"The administrative problems connected with management of land held in trust for multiple owners prevent effective use of these lands. In some cases, they prevent any use whatsoever. Effective land management will require some sort of consolidation and simplification of land ownership."

The study seems to be saying that the Indian heritage is providing an opportunity for socialized forms of production and wealth-sharing—a poverty solution which has been systematically blocked from entry into black and white poverty neighborhoods. Nor is community-based development simply a means of dealing with poverty problems.

Right at this moment, many middle class white families are jointly working toward integrating their lives in a way that enables them, as the Indian study says, "to come to terms with the surrounding industrial society (in order) to maintain a decent standard of living while still remaining true to their own culture." The black, brown and red peoples throughout the world and a very harried middle class are all trying to come to terms with the American industrial system.

Will the American corporate state permit people to arrive at non-capitalist solutions to their problems in their own way? The Indians have an interesting opportunity, the JOC study indicates:

"Perhaps one of the most encouraging aspects of the current Indian situation is that substantial funds are becoming available to many of the tribes through awards by the Indian Claims Commission and through leasing of mineral rights on Indian lands. In the past, some of these funds have been distributed on a per capita basis and the remainder have been held in trust by the Federal government earning, in general, below-market rates of return."

"Recently, some of these funds have been put to use in tribal development programs, but the potential of these funds for financing development remains largely unrealized."

technically are designed to serve all the poor, Indians maintain that they are really geared to the needs of the larger minorities and often are controlled by these minorities at the local level. Surveys that statistically pinpoint the plight of the urban Indian and form a base for programs that might serve him are lacking.

'Uncle Tomahawks'

In the face of such difficulties, many urban Indians become increasingly bitter toward white society. Those Indians who do adapt are called "Uncle Tomahawks" or "Apples"—red on the outside, white on the inside. But the urban experience is also teaching many Indians that they have to organize to make their voices heard.

Indian organization has been hindered by tribalism, which has tended to inhibit the formation of coalitions. But though tribal differences still divide city Indians, they are gradually overcoming them to form broader, stronger organizations.

American Indian Movement, the Minneapolis-based group, is one of the most active. It has set up an "Indian patrol" to police the Indian community, a move executive director Clyde Bellecourt says has sharply reduced arrests of Indians by city police. The group also has boycotted some Government programs it feels discriminate against Indians and has helped to get an all-Indian advisory board to counsel state and local educational authorities on problems of Indian education. It's currently planning a multipurpose Indian center to be built with Model Cities funds. In the meantime, the group has formed units in Cleveland, Denver, Seattle, and Rapid City, S.D.

Small Businesses

A national group, Chicago-based American Indians United, is planning various cultural programs around the country. In Los Angeles, the Urban Indian Development Association is trying to set up small Indian-owned businesses under Federal grants. Urban Indian centers are multiplying too, many of them joining in a loose confederation headed by American Indians United.

There are more than 70 centers now, compared with about 40 a year ago. Generally supported by donations and by OEO grants, they provide information about jobs and government services through volunteer staffs composed mainly of Indians. They also provide a place for urban Indians to meet and sometimes just relax.

There are some stirrings at the Federal level over the special problems of the urban Indian. The National Council for Indian Opportunity, headed by Vice President Spiro Agnew, has held hearings on urban problems in several cities, and Mr. Agnew has stressed the need to give priority attention to city Indians. But no big programs are under way or planned, and critics say the flow of cash into existing programs doesn't come close to filling the need.

Indian Scholars Meet at Princeton, Ask Self-Determination for People

By KITSI BURKHART
Of The Bulletin Staff

Princeton—More than 100 American Indian scholars ended a week-long conference here with a plea for self-determination and reaffirmation of their tribal heritage.

The consensus of the gathering that included authors, artists, lawyers and tribal leaders was that they no longer will tolerate being pushed around—not by the government, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or foundations.

"For too long foundations and non-Indians have used us as guinea pigs," said Dr. Alfonso Ortiz, assistant professor of anthropology at Princeton and a Tewa Indian. "People receive large grants that they use to despiritualize, detribalize and proletarianize us. It's unconscionable that people for whom programs are formulated are never consulted."

Urban Indians

The convocation passed 22 resolutions that indicate the modern era of Indian emergence.

The largest cluster of resolutions stressed self-determination for Indians, especially the right to control their own schools.

During the convocation, the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was attacked for "deforming and degrading tribal society."

The BIA, which has dominated

ed the Indian world for 150 years, has done more harm than good, according to Rupert Costo, publisher of the Indian Historical Press and president of the American Indian Historical Society.

Corrupted Society

The BIA, said Costa, a Cahuilla, has "stultified our initiative, corrupted our society and caused a creeping paralysis . . . economically and socially as well."

Because of recent migrations of Indians to urban areas, many delegates said they feared urbanization would cause "a loss of spiritual identity."

N. Scott Momaday, who won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1969 and who is a Kiowa, said, "If there is anything that distinguishes the Indian as an individual it is his regard for the earth and the natural world."

As another delegate put it: "How can 600 persons gather together for a sacred rain dance in Los Angeles?"

At the other extreme were persons who grew up on reservations and say they don't feel a threat to their identity by urbanization. They still speak their native languages and don't feel disoriented by modern America.

Four Mountains

Sam Billison, a Navaho from Tucson, Ariz., said, "I carry my four sacred mountains around

in my heart." Vine Deloria Jr., a Standing Rock Sioux and former director of the National Congress of American Indians, pointed out that native Americans have seen evolutionary loss of their power—from sovereign nations making treaties with foreign nations down to having no sovereignty or voice in decisions affecting their lives.

Deloria maintains Indian law should govern Indian people, not the "confined and regulating statutes that have split our country to the core." Deloria also advocates strengthening of existing treaties that retain the culture and ideology of various tribal groups.

Indian Power?

In a summation of the conference, Dr. Ortiz said:

On Monday morning we merely had purpose.
On Monday night we had soul.

On Tuesday morning we had power.

On Tuesday night the full moon over Princeton was wearing an eagle feather.

On Wednesday morning we had majesty.

This morning we return to our problems.

"Upon which theme shall we end?" he asked.

Dr. Ortiz's answer to his own question was "on the upswing." Others answered, "Indian power."

Iroquois Chief Says U. S. to 'Integrate' Indians

By KITSI BURKHART
Of The Bulletin Staff

Princeton, N. J.—An Iroquois tribal leader charged yesterday that the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) has always tried to "disperse the Indian into the white man's society."

"The BIA policy has always been to integrate, assimilate and water down the Indian," said Oren Lyons, an artist and a Turtle Clan chief of the Onondaga nation, one of the six nations of the Iroquois confederacy.

Lyons is one of more than 100 Indians attending the American Indian Scholars Conference at Princeton University this week.

Raps U. S. Policy

Lyons said the government would like Indians "to all leave the reservations and assimilate

in urban areas" because of its "vast commitments to us by treaty." Thus, he said, "if there isn't an ethnic group of Indians as such it doesn't have to maintain its commitment."

"That's one way of getting around treaties without breaking them," he added.

Lyons attributed the high rate of suicide among young Indians to the teachings of BIA schools.

"If you are taught from the time you are small that you should be like a white man, it's pretty well ingrained," he said. "But when you come out and find you are an Indian it's very disorienting."

Records, Artifacts

Lyons, a graduate of Syracuse University, said another governmental tactic is to take Indian records and artifacts, lock them up in museums and say "this is the way it used to

be." "In reality they are only trying to tell us we are no longer in need of these artifacts and are no longer a six-nation confederacy."

Presently the Iroquois confederacy has a bill on the floor of the New York State Senate in Albany which asks that 26 belts of sacred Iroquois beads be returned to the Iroquois people.

Lyons predicted that someday soon white people will seek advice and direction from the Indian in the preservation of our universe.

"Since our culture has always been one of obeying the natural laws of the universe and our values are tied very closely to the land, we can give them some direction when they are willing to listen to us after all these many years."

"At that time they will know we are allies and should live as brothers in mutual respect."



BETWEEN TALKS—Pare Hopa, Maori of New Zealand, left; Yeffee Kimball, Hopi, center; and Charles Loleman, Osage, right, hold private discussions.

NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 29, 1970

Indian Links Gain for His People To Recognition of Tribal Power

By NANCY HICKS

An American Indian author says that if his people are going to escape their present plight the Government must be made to deal with them as members of a corporate tribe rather than as individual wards.

Vine Deloria, a Standing Rock Sioux and author of the book "Custer Died for Your Sins," told a conference at Princeton University that a principal cause of the plight of Indians was their unclear legal status.

He said that in various treaties and legislation, many still in effect, Indians have been treated both as members in a corporate tribe that intercedes in an individual Indian's relationship with the Government and as individual wards of the Government.

The latter definition, Mr. Deloria said, weakens the Indian's power to enforce treaties that protect the rights of tribal members.

22 Resolutions Passed

Mr. Deloria, a law student at the University of Colorado, called for the legal clarification at the first convocation of American Indian Scholars last week.

A total of 150 Indians, including some well-known names of academia and the arts, met to plan the future of their people, now that their plight has gained public attention.

During the five-day session, the group passed 22 resolutions, many promoting Indian "self-determination" and community control of public, private and foundation programs that affect native Americans, as Indians are also called.

The meeting was sponsored by the Indian Historical Society, an organization based in San Francisco, and received its funds

from the Ford Foundation. "Our purpose," explained Rupert Costo, a Cahuilla who is president of the society, "is to set in motion a responsive leadership that can give effective help in performing that miracle of change so desperately needed for our people."

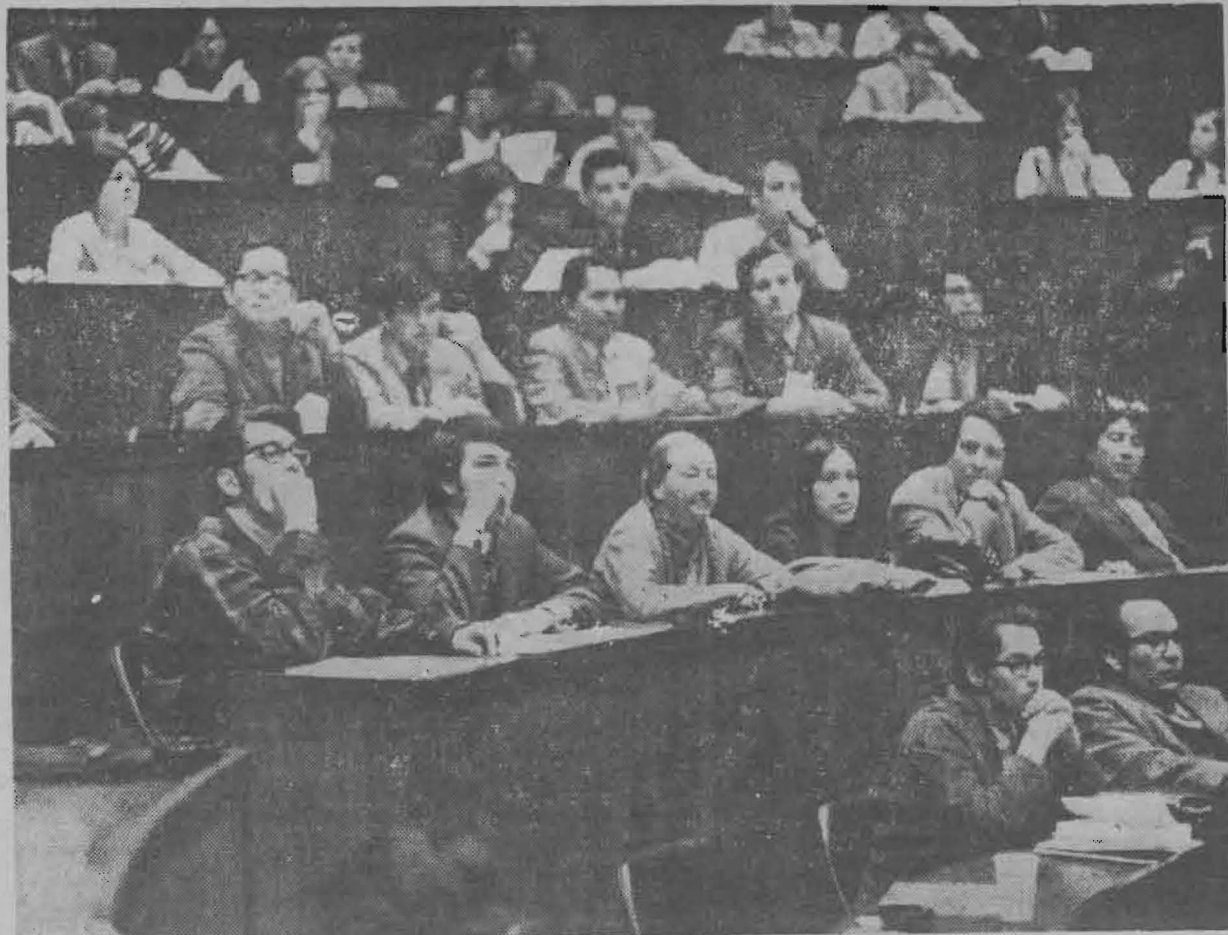
According to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which functions as the liaison between native Americans and Government programs, an Indian is a person who has at least one full-blooded Indian grandparent and is listed with a number on the roles of a reservation. There are 662,000 persons so designated, and they make up about 150 tribes.

Idaho Problem Cited

Mr. Deloria's concern for a clear definition of the Indian's state is designed, he said, to prevent a state government from taking action against an individual tribe member. This has been a chronic problem in Idaho, where members of the Nez Perce tribe have been hunting and fishing within the provisions of their treaty with the Federal Government but in violation of state statutes. The Indians have been arrested.

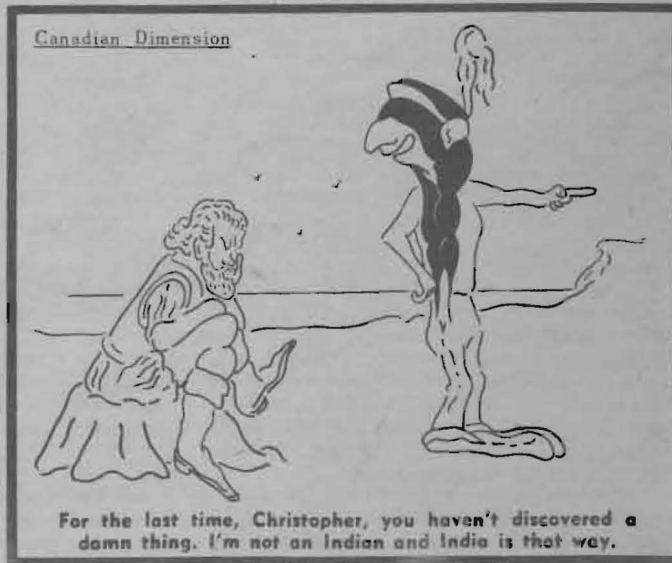
"If an Indian is a member of a corporate body that has an agreement with the Federal Government, the only right the state has is to go through the Government to the treaty and then to the tribe to let it police its own members in hunting and fishing," Mr. Deloria said.

The Civil Rights Act of 1968 carried a clause extending due process to Indians, many of whom have their own tribal courts. Mr. Deloria said that in this law Congress went beyond the tribal structure to deal with the individual Indian. He said this should not happen.



GATHERING—Some of the 192-member delegation of American Indian scholars who assembled at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School for a four-day meeting to discuss "power, unification."

ton University's Woodrow Wilson School for a four-day meeting to discuss "power, unification."



For the last time, Christopher, you haven't discovered a damn thing. I'm not an Indian and India is that way.

About the cartoonist: Fred Kelly is assistant to the president of the National Indian Brotherhood, and vice-president of the Union of Ontario Indians. In 1965 he organized the Kenora Indian March, the first of its kind in Canada.

THE INDIAN IN MINNESOTA

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**MINNESOTA
Motorist**

MARCH, 1970

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by
Ron D. Johnson

AN INDIAN WOMAN KEEPS her five-year-old son out of school because she is ashamed to enroll him in the clothes he's wearing. Only slightly better than rags, there's no money to buy new clothing.

A social worker visits the home after hearing about the child being kept out of school. Some papers are signed and served, and the bewildered, frightened five-year-old is shipped off to an Indian boarding school. The mother feels like any mother would when her child is taken from her. She weeps . . . but not for long. There are other children who must be cared for. They are older and luckier, because they are in school and have at least one set of clothes to wear.

At the Indian boarding school, the five-year-old boy learns a new way of life—a military-like existence where students march to classes and meals. For those who don't obey regulations, there are hose whippings.

Several years go by, and the Indian lad is transferred to another boarding school, in North Dakota, and then later, to a South Dakota school. At 16, after two weeks at the South Dakota boarding school, the youth packs his meager belongings and runs away, hitchhiking more than 300 miles back home, to the Leech Lake Indian Reservation in Minnesota. When his 17th birthday arrives, the young Indian enlists in the U.S. Air Force, where he spends the next 5½ years of his life.

HIS NAME IS DENNIS BANKS. And he's one of thousands upon thousands of Indians who have spent their youth in Indian boarding schools run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

"While I was in the Air Force, I completed my high school education by correspondence course. When I got out of the service, I worked in a foundry, drove truck, bundled papers and magazines, was an auto mechanic and served time in Stillwater prison for robbery and forgery," says Banks, now a personnel recruiter for Minneapolis Honeywell and Chairman of the American Indian Movement (AIM), headquartered at 1337 E. Franklin Ave. in Minneapolis.

When Banks went to work for Honeywell, the company had 63 Indians on its payroll. "I kept track of how many Indians I recruited for Honeywell last year," he said. "It came to 416. That figure includes clerks, salesmen, engineers and stockroom employees." The employment record of Indians at Honeywell has been good, Banks adds.

Banks is now 32. He's a tall, lithe, well-dressed young man who classifies himself as an "Indian activist." Some people call him a militant. And others call him a radical. He believes Indians in Minnesota must be "much more aggressive . . . work together . . . to find better jobs and better housing for Indians."

AIM is finding housing for Indians, often paying the first month's rent, and helps Indian Americans find employment. It runs a youth center and sponsors social and recreational functions. AIM now has a membership of more than 1,000. It is supported by members and by contributions from some churches in the Franklin Avenue area (sometimes referred to as 'The Reservation'), and by businesses which want to remain anonymous.

George Mitchell, who founded AIM with his friend Dennis Banks, works for the Minneapolis Civil Rights Department in community relations. He says that AIM's primary objective is to "solicit and broaden opportunities for Indians in the city . . . in order that they may

enjoy their full rights as citizens of the U.S."

The two biggest enemies of Indians are the "two B's," Mitchell declares, "bigotry and bureaucracy."

LIKE MOST INDIAN LEADERS, including activists, moderates and some conservatives, Banks and Mitchell have nothing good to say about the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

"The BIA has tried to convert Indians to a foreign way of life. It's a white man's organization, not a red man's," Mitchell says. Mitchell and Banks met at the BIA boarding school they attended at Wahpeton, N.D. It was there that they first started thinking about an organization for Indians, which eventually became AIM. Mitchell and Banks are representatives of a new young breed of Indian in Minnesota—more militant, more aggressive than the past generation. They want equal rights for Indians in Minnesota. ("Not just equal rights on paper . . . equal rights in reality!" says Mitchell.) They say discrimination does exist—in housing, employment, social activities, the other facets of life. They assert that police brutality toward Indians did exist in Minneapolis, so they organized an Indian Patrol, consisting of 18 to 20 men, wearing red blazers.

"Originally, the patrol was designed to curb police harassment," says Mitchell. "It witnessed arrests by police . . . just watched them . . . to make sure there was no rough treatment. The Patrol took Indians home when they'd had too much to drink and put them in bed . . . yes, and some whites, too. Then, when there was a gun battle going on in a house near here, the patrol helped break it up. Thereafter, the police started calling the patrol for help in some situations. We gave it to them. We think it's done a good job."

MITCHELL HANDED ME a sheet of paper. It listed the short-range objectives of AIM:

- Establish a program to improve Indian housing.
- Establish an Indian youth program. (An excellent boxing program for Indian boys has been organized by former Golden Glove champion Rudy Pacheco.)
- Establish a positive program for employment of Indian Americans.
- Establish a program to educate industry in the area of Indian culture and its effect on the Indian.
- Establish a program to improve communications between the Indian and the community.
- Establish a program to educate the Indian citizen in his responsibility to his community.

AIM's long range objectives are: To generate unification within the Indian people, to inform all Indian Americans of, and encourage them to become active in, community and local affairs, and to bring the economic status of Indian Americans up to that of the general community.

Since Mitchell and Banks formed AIM on August 29, 1968 it has accomplished some of its goals, but the organization is just getting a good start on most of its objectives. AIM has been copied in several other cities including Denver and Cleveland.

AIM's executive director, Clyde Bellecourt, was hospitalized from overwork and exhaustion when I visited AIM headquarters. Bellecourt has spent considerable time behind prison bars, and during his last prison term he made up his mind to devote all his time helping his brethren when he got out of prison. He is vocal, tough and not well-liked by the white Establishment, nor even by all Indians. But he's respected. He, and AIM, are making society take note of Indian problems in the urban areas. Bellecourt, Banks and Mitchell have names for some older Indians who they claim have sold out to the whites—names such as "Uncle Tomahawk, Uncle Tom-Tom, and Hang-Around-the-Fort Indians."

THE UPPER MIDWEST AMERICAN Indian Center in Minneapolis is another organization helping Minnesota Indians help themselves. A paragraph in one of the Center's brochures says: ". . . American Indians have lived on hope too long. Some Indians have given up hope, which is a shame. Some Indians are indifferent, which will be our ruin. Some Indians are striving for something better, which is our only chance. Which group are you in?"

In Minnesota, there are nearly 35,000 Indian Americans, making it the largest minority in the state. About 80 percent of that total are Chippewa, the rest being a combination of Dakota, Blackfoot, Crow, Winnebago and Cheyenne. (The first mistake the white man made was to call native Americans "Indians," a geographical error.)

When the Chippewa (originally the Ojibway) drove the Sioux (Dakota) from the forest regions of Minnesota with guns supplied by the white man, the Sioux retreated south, thereby forcing them into becoming "plains Indians." Then, following the 1862 Sioux Uprising, most of the Sioux were driven west and southwest, with many of the Winnebago tribe going with them. Some Indian agents squandered funds meant for the Sioux (one said "Let them eat grass.") and slow communications delayed money President Lincoln had appropriated for the Sioux. These were some of the real reasons for the Sioux Uprising, not that the Sioux were "brutal savages," as some history books relate.

INDIANS IN MINNESOTA make a living at a wide variety of jobs. But the average salary for an Indian breadwinner on a reservation in Minnesota is a paltry \$1500 annual income. In the cities (most Indians live in Minneapolis, about 4,000 in the Franklin

Avenue area, with lesser amounts in other parts of Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth) Indians don't have it much better. "I can usually find a job for an Indian paying about \$2.50 an hour," says Banks. There are few Indians in the professions and top business positions, practically none in state government. But this is slowly changing.

At Red Lake Indian Reservation, Minnesota's only "closed reservation" (meaning only Indians can live on the reservation), employment opportunities are better than on the others. Red Lake Saw Mill and Timber Industries has been operating for 50 years. According to Roger Jourdain, head of the Red Lake Reservation Tribal Council, the mill employs 90 to 100 Chippewa Indians when it's in full operation. The commercial fishery at Red Lake sells 650,000 pounds of walleye annually. Another employer is the Red Lake Chippewa Cedar Fence plant, started in 1964. But there are 3,500 Indians on the Red Lake Indian Reservation and there aren't enough jobs to go around, so employment must be sought elsewhere. Much of this employment is seasonal in this part of the state.

AT LEECH LAKE Reservation, the biggest employer of Indians is Community Action Program (CAP), a federal program operated under the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Under CAP, Indians work as bus drivers, welders, construction workers, etc. Many are being taught new skills.

Under CAP, 105 new homes have been built, but "another 400 are needed here," asserts Si Howard, CAP's housing director and secretary-treasurer of Leech Lake Reservation Business Committee. As is the case on many reservations, most families still carry their water from a neighborhood pump the year 'round and heat their homes with wood stoves.

"Some Indians up here have worked all winter out in the woods cutting trees," says Duane Woodworth, director of the Leech Lake Reservation Legal Services Project. "The employer would provide food and lodging for the Indian worker, overcharge him for both, then at the end of the winter the Indian would wind up with \$40 to \$50 in total pay. Another problem is that some older Indians, who have worked 40 years or more, can't collect social security because they have no record of employment." Woodworth provides legal services to Leech Lake Indian Reservation residents under CAP. There are eight such legal service projects in the U.S.

MINNESOTA'S INDIAN AFFAIRS Commission, a new state department, is developing a program to improve the socio-economic status of the Indians of Minnesota. It is working with all the various state departments, as well as the federal programs in the state, to achieve that goal.

"Minnesota is the leader among all states in upgrading education for the Indian," asserts Will Antell, a Chippewa who was raised on Minnesota's White Earth Indian Reservation and is now director of the Indian Education Division of the State Department of Education. "More Indians are being recruited as teachers and work is being accomplished in getting individual school districts to change curriculums and find teachers who can relate to basic Indian needs . . . teachers who are sensitive to Indian children and do not carry 'myths' about Indians." Antell is the first director of Indian education in Minnesota and the first in the U.S. for any state department of education.

The University of Minnesota now has the first Department of American Indian Studies in the U.S., and next year, Dr. Edward Dozier, a Tewa Indian, will become the department's first chairman.

G. WILLIAM CRAIG, A MOHAWK Indian from New York who teaches several courses in Indian culture including "The Indian in Modern Society" at the University, says Minnesota is leading the way for all states in its assistance to Indians, primarily because "Indians in the state are starting to do things by themselves and for other Indians."

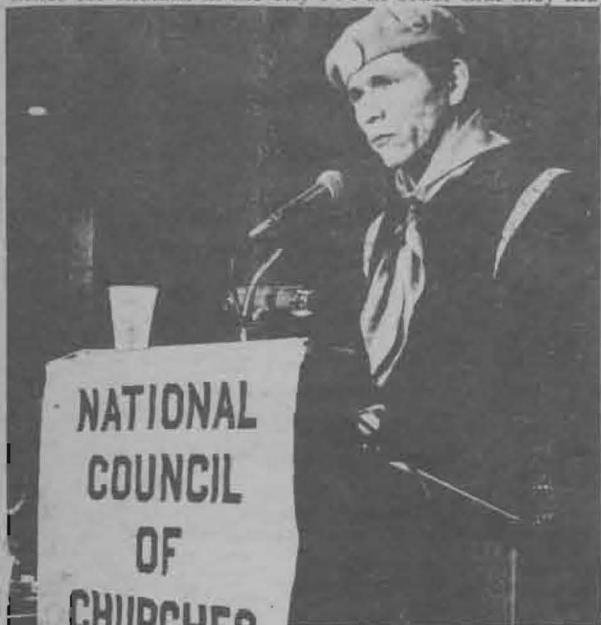
"The first all-Indian Student Conference is being held at the University Feb. 28," Craig said. "And, Minnesota is the first state to create a State Indian Education Commission. It's the only state to have an Indian consultant on Indian education in a public school system (Ted Mahto of the Minneapolis public school system)."

"There also are two good programs for improvement of elementary Indian education at the University—Indian Upward Bound, for Indian students in the 7th through 9th grades, and the STAIRS program for first through sixth grades." Most of the workers in the programs are college student volunteers.

Craig says that Minnesota also is taking the lead for improvement of Indian education behind prison walls, helping Indian inmates prepare for that day when they will be released from prison.

THE KEY TO THE INDIAN problem in Minnesota, and throughout the U.S., is education . . . education at all levels," says youthful Dennis Morrison of the Upper Midwest American Indian Center. "That, and more programs run by and for Indians . . . are needed."

"Progress is being made, but the fruits of today's work probably won't be realized until the Indian children of today become adults."



Dennis Banks, chairman of the American Indian Movement, is shown speaking to the National Council of Churches meeting in Detroit. "I've been in more churches making speeches in the past year . . . than I've been in the rest of my life," says Banks.

on the ⁴⁴ Island of God

By Bruce Mickleburgh

Robert Aller is a visual man, but he had words, beautiful words, for those who had ears to hear when the Art from the Island of God exhibit opened.

The art was the art of children, Ojibway children. 'It all happened at Wikwemikong on Manitoulin Island,' Mr. Aller told me afterwards. That is, 'by the Bay of the Beaver on the Island of God.'

That's where Mr. Aller was working with the children last summer. He has been teaching the children of Canada's little nations since 1958. His work last summer was part of a project undertaken by The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, which sponsored the exhibit at the Royal Ontario Museum.

Here are Mr. Aller's words, just as he spoke them in greeting and explanation to those who came to share the opening:

The sun at the centre

Possibly your first thoughts will be when you see the exhibit:

The colours and forms are beautiful.

The children voice beauty and strength.

The paintings reflect 'Indian' values.

When the children paint the sun, I am not sure whether the child climbs up to the sun or whether he reaches out toward the sun. In either case the sun becomes the centre of his experience.

(It took us a long time to discover that the sun is at the centre. We Europeans thought the earth is at the centre. It has always been the centre for the Ojibway.)

This is not art for art's sake, but rather the child's creative expression for the child's sake.

The exhibit does not necessarily express total happiness; and all is not well with the country.

After you have looked at it tonight, you should return on another day, alone, and see it with listening ears.

The children are not directed in the usual teaching-room method. Rather I see to it that I do not disrupt the existing feeling. The community feeling, another 'Indian value', is retained.

I am asked, 'how do you motivate Indian children?' My answer is: I eliminate the 'how-to-do-it' books and the 'don't-do-it' rules. There is no discipline problem. There are no rewards for being what a teacher considers as good.

I move to their feelings, not the child to mine.

I do not interrupt a child at work (another 'Indian value').

The children come and go as they please. I invite parents to be with the children. I go with the children out to where the adults are.

This is communal atmosphere.

The child's greatest delight is participation. I do not dominate it, or mar it with promises of prizes, rewards: simply because these have no relation to what he is participating in.

Cooperation, not competition.

The child likes to try out all the various art mediums that are offered. A five-year-old tried lino-cutting. I let her try. I knew the lino was too hard for her to cut. She discovered it was too difficult. She had the satisfaction of finding this out for herself.

'Indian values' are not negative-positive. For example, I have never seen any appointed life-guards on 'Indian' community beaches. No one expects to drown. One of the most exciting games we played last summer on the beach was 'sink the canoe full of kids!' (The water was three feet deep.) I try to eliminate the negative attitudes from my mind, and then things begin to happen on their own, as if I wasn't there.

If the White Man holds no value for 'Indian' values, then he is at a loss. The White Man's last resort is to strike out with fear. The bridge to the child then becomes fear. Therefore normal communication is lost.

There are very few people of the Western culture who are aware of 'Indian' values, and fewer still who know what they are. It is not beads and buckskin. It is the living 'Indian' himself: his ways, in his society, and in his community.

If the white teacher eliminates the 'Indian' value, he breaks the child.

If the cord is broken, beads can be restrung, but not the human being.

The 'Indian' child expresses himself some five to ten years ahead of the average white child. He has two societies to know (and in many cases his religion may be based on the Western culture). The white child has one.

When the white teacher enters the 'Indian' community, he must know that he is going from his known to his unknown. While he is in his unknown, he is taking the child from his known to his unknown. There are bridges and they are required on both sides.

It is not a one-way street; bringing only the Western culture to the 'Indian'.

Obliterated families

So spoke Mr. Aller on opening night. A day or two afterwards, chatting in the Courier office, he observed that, 'The "Indian" child is living in his own community. In his paintings, drawings, and modeling work, he does not feel that he must necessarily paint his parents or his home, or the dogs (they have a lot around) or their pets, or even a snake which is in the grass, the grass snakes or frogs.'

But they will paint items that are further away, not that which is immediate. I understand another 'Indian value' regarding things that are immediate, things that he has in his hand, things that are immediately around him. He has no need to say, 'I have a frog in my hand', or 'I have a dog by my side'. You can see that.

But he will paint and tell you things that are far off in the forest, or something in his imagination, which you realize you can't see.

Or he has observed nature in certain paintings. Lightning striking the lake: this actually happened, so he painted it; maybe because he thought no one else had seen it. But this struck him, and he observed things quite closely.

Quite often they seem to want to paint a mixture of colours which I call colour and form design. I never use the terms abstract or non-objective: this is no part of them. But he paints a plain colour.

But in the residential schools, where I was working in Manitoba and in s.c., he painted his mother and father, his brother and his sisters. Then some of them would be so sad about this because they were so far away. They were not immediate.

And then he'd take black paint and obliterate the entire family. And I would say nothing until he had finished his painting, come to the end of his story, or finished his sentence. And then he would hand it to me, or put it aside, and take another sheet.

'Now this tells quite a bit.'

In another place in Ontario South, within one single hour, in regular school hours, we worked in a large gym. We had space there. The class came in: boys and girls aged eight to about 12. I'd give them the regular paper, 18 to 24.

'Well, it was all stereotyped, with a house, two trees, a house, two trees, a couple of rocks, maybe a flower. It had no relation to anyone or anything and I finally put all the paper to one side on the wall, and then I gave them huge sheets of paper: 14 or 15 feet long and four feet wide — about four or five pieces across the gym floor.'

'They went wild over that. That was fun. It was a novelty. And I said, "Now, here are some more kinds of medium: wax crayons, paint, pencils, and a few other kinds of things, paraffin war too."

'And they got rid of their stereotypes and they had their practice with material, and then, within the single hour, they did their own thing.'

It was just beautiful. There was no comparison. They mixed their own colours that were no longer the house with two trees and the rock.'

I was working at the University of Manitoba for four weeks, with 'Indian' pre-school children as well as talking to teachers. One professor asked this at one of the lectures: 'If we only remember one thing of the full week that you have been speaking with us and demonstrating, what is it that we should remember as a white teacher in an 'Indian' community?'

And I said, 'to keep your mouth shut, your ears and your eyes open, and you will teach well and you will learn a lot.'

And now, dearly beloved brethren, let us all close our minds, secure in the knowledge that what the children on the Island of God, and Mr. Aller, have to say, only concerns them and not us.

After all, we are the gods and lords over children. Some of us are even lords over the lords of children. We are the People Moulders. We are the Value Planters. We know the sun is not at the centre. We are.

But how do we account for that art?



Photographs by Robert Aller
(All rights reserved)

A scathing report that should anger every one of us

Our Shameful Failure With America's Indians

THE AMERICAN Indian today lives in a world controlled by white men, a world that degrades, alienates and destroys him. He remains the inheritor of defeat, a stranger in his homeland, prisoner of a world that grinds out new injustices and indignities day by day. Documenting this are countless stories reported by dozens of Citizens' Advocate Center researchers, who logged tens of thousands of miles in a ten-month investigation.

Consider just a few examples:

- In a State of Washington public school, an Indian child objected to the American-history textbook that called her ancestors "dirty savages."

The girl was summarily expelled from the school as "uncontrollable."

- At Devil's Lake Reservation, North Dakota, welfare workers in some instances have forcibly removed Indian children from their mothers and placed them with white families. Other Indian adults are afraid to speak out for fear they will lose their children, too.

- At the Native Health Service Hospital in Anchorage, Alaska, there is a waiting list of 5000 patients for major reconstructive ear surgery. Many Indians must travel 90 miles to a hospital clinic, only to find 200 to 300 patients in line ahead of them, and leave at the end of the day without having seen a doctor.

- In Palm Springs, Calif., the Agua Caliente Indians own major properties. State officials declared nearly two thirds of them incompetent to manage their own affairs and provided trustees to act for them. In 1968 the Secretary of the Interior revealed that these trustees had been pocketing an average of one third of the land proceeds for "legal fees."

The number of human beings involved is small—there are only about 600,000 descendants of the original Americans, not even one half of one percent of our population. That we have failed with so few, however, dramatizes the magnitude of that failure after a long effort to bring the Indian into our mainstream: The Indian's average yearly income, \$1500, is less than half the national poverty level. The Indian's average age at death is 44 years, a third less than the national average of 66. Indians' infant-mortality rate after the first month of life is three times the national figure. Many Indians go hungry; welfare payments and health services are grossly inadequate. Indian education is a travesty. So is Indian housing—70 percent of it substandard. Job-training programs are insufficient and ineffective. Finally, Indians who leave their reservations are drowning, unnoticed, in our worst urban ghettos.

Our Brother's Keeper: The BIA. The basic problem is that, even though he has had U.S. citizenship since 1924, the life the Indian leads is not his to control. Government does that job, and the kingpin of the system is the Bureau of Indian Affairs, an agency of the U.S. Department of the Interior.

From birth to death, the Indian's home, land, schools, jobs, stores, where he shops, the tribal council that governs him, the opportunities available to him, the way in which he spends his money and disposes of

his trust property are all determined by the BIA. It is his realtor, banker, teacher, social worker, police department, waterworks, power company, ambassador and spokesman to and from the outside world. Even the 200,000 Indians who live off reservations are heavily influenced by its pervasive presence.

Based in Washington, D.C., the bureau has 16,000 employees (one for every 38 Indians), mostly located in outposts extending like tentacles westward. Their authority over Indian life is absolute. A *Harvard Law Review* article summed it up: "Although the normal expectation in American society is that a private individual may do anything unless it is specifically prohibited by the government, on the reservation Indians may not do anything unless it is specifically permitted by the government."

Even when exercised illegally, BIA power is virtually unchallengeable. Where the normal citizen has three avenues of redress—political, administrative, judicial—the Indian has none. Politically, he is im-

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Condensed from "OUR BROTHER'S KEEPER: THE INDIAN IN WHITE AMERICA," prepared under the auspices of the Citizens' Advocate Center, a nonprofit organization designed to monitor government programs, and edited by EDGAR S. CAHN

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THE READER'S DIGEST

April

fectly sound in mind and body, but the bureau can—and often does—treat him as legally incompetent to manage his own affairs. Mere supposition that an Indian might prove indiscreet in handling money, might be exploited, is considered reason enough to relieve him of control over his possessions. Once deemed "incompetent," he cannot even draw money from his own trust fund without obtaining BIA approval. The BIA can even invalidate an Indian's will and sell his land.

In Osage County, Oklahoma, an Indian discovered that her land had been leased for three years—only after she decided to move there. The BIA had never bothered to tell her, or to collect the rent and pass it on to her.

Between 1887 and 1966, the Indian land base, synonymous with the Indian's very existence, has decreased from 138 million acres to 55 million. The reason: it has been the victim of unrelenting expropriation—most frequently in the name of progress. Indian land is cheaper, easier and less dangerous—politically—to take. Construction engineers, road builders and dam erectors have an uncanny knack for discovering that the only economical way to do

plan, even offering to donate the lands they would lose, but the BIA would not endorse it. The government finally promised 150,000 substitute acres of equally valuable land downstream, but when the Fort Berthold area was flooded in 1953, the government conveniently "forgot" its offer and the Indians were left with no substitute land at all.

Closely related to the taking of Indian land for the public good is the practice of relieving him of his land for what is termed "his own good." Here is one way this works: The BIA permits some states to treat Indian trust land as a disposable and "available resource," even though the Indian himself cannot sell or mortgage his trust property. Many states stipulate that no one holding such assets may qualify for welfare. So the BIA helps the impoverished Indian qualify for welfare by allowing him to sell the land. But even then he can't qualify because he has the money from the sale. He must spend the proceeds first—but only in a manner acceptable to the BIA, which holds the money and usually doles it out in installments equal to what the Indian would receive on welfare—generally less than needed for subsistence.

Taught to Be Ashamed. In spite of treaty pledges and periodic reassurances by the federal government of its commitment to Indians' education, the product is abysmally poor: In 1968, more than 6000 Indian children of school age were not attending any school at all. Dropout rates are twice the national average. Some four fifths of Indian males have less than five years of schooling. Indian children score consistently lower than white children at every grade level, according to national tests administered in 1965. And the longer the Indian child stays in school, the farther he falls behind.

Today, the BIA seeks to absolve itself of responsibility for failure by contracting out its responsibility to public schools (in 1968, 57.4 percent of school-age Indians attended public schools). But the states simply ignore the special needs of Indians while using the Indian funds to subsidize the total state school system.

BIA operates 77 boarding schools, but for the 35,309 Indian children attending these schools, education becomes a form of compulsory expatriation. In Alaska, where 15 percent of the U.S. Indian population resides, there are neither enough Indian schools, nor room for all the Indian children in public schools. As a result, Indian children are shipped as far away as Oklahoma, almost 3000 miles from their parents, to schools where there may be as many as 150 children under the care of a single matron. Even for the 16,000 children attending the 147 BIA day schools, the trek to school can be a rugged one. In Utah, for instance, Indians may have to walk three miles to the bus and then ride 65 miles to school.

Once at school, the Indian child is kept in deliberate ignorance of his culture, history and heritage. He is taught that he should be ashamed of it. In Ponca City, Okla., a Cherokee student complained, "Everything we know and cherish is derided." Says another observer, "There is not one Indian child who has not come home in shame and tears after a session in which he is taught that his people

were dirty, animal-like, something less than human beings."

Defending the Keeper. Those new to Indian problems often ask the obvious question: Why not just do away with the BIA and "free" the Indian? Paradoxically, the Indian himself feels that he must, even at the cost of his liberty, preserve the bureau—because only the bureau stands between the Indian and his extinction as a racial and cultural entity. He may be suffering a slow death, but he can still cling to hope. That is the lesser of two evils.

The Indian's fears about losing the bureau and the special status it affords him take a particular form: fear of "termination"—a policy officially adopted by the federal government in the 1950s, "freeing" the Indian from the BIA. (Typically, the Indians were not given any choice about the policy.) In theory, termination meant an end to the special status of the Indian, and with it a disavowal of his trusteeship and protection arrangement with the U.S. government. In practice, however, termination has proved to mean annihilation rather than emancipation for the tribes who have experienced it.

The most tragic example is the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin. Before termination in 1961, the Menominees were a proud and relatively self-sufficient people with good schools, community services and a tribal-owned sawmill. After termination, their reservation became a county—but one whose tax base was too small to support decent schools and health services. The Menominee hospital, one of the nation's best for Indians, had to close. Today the county is the most poverty-stricken in Wisconsin, and its Indians are demoralized and indignant.

The Utah Paiutes and the Oregon Klamath Indians ran into similar problems from forced termination. In no case has a tribe gained in self-sufficiency after termination. Most ceased to exist as cohesive communities with their own culture and history. Yet, even today, the federal government's official abandonment of the termination policy in 1961, there is unrelenting pressure to terminate Indians in California and Washington State.

What can be done, then, to drastically change the Indians' situation? The Citizens' Advocate Center does not offer recommendations. We do offer this observation: The Indians do not need one more white man's plan for their betterment. Thousands of recommendations, stretching over 42 years, are already in Washington files, and they make clear that government policy, practice, organization and philosophy must be substantially changed. But these recommendations have come to have a special meaning for Indians. They are part of a tradition in which policy and programs are dictated by non-Indians. Moreover, even when the government promised changes for the better, the promises were always broken.

In 1961 the Indians published their own Declaration of Indian Purpose. It rejected the termination policy, and suggested Indians be allowed to participate "in developing their own programs with help and guidance as needed and requested from a local, decentralized staff." It was wholly ignored.

Only the Indians have a persistent interest in their own improvement. For the rest of the nation, it is merely a nagging matter of conscience. What is needed, therefore, is a new problem-solving process which parts with past tradition, which places all initiative in Indian hands and which broadens the opportunity for continuous participation by Indians in shaping their own destinies. Without this opportunity—which is, after all, integral to American democracy—the solutions will fail.



Mauldin in The Chicago Sun-Times
"Believe me, mister, there's no neglect like 'benign neglect.'"

tent—he lacks significant voting power. Administratively, he has to tangle with more than 2000 regulations, 389 treaties, 5000 statutes, 2000 federal-court decisions and 500 Attorney General opinions, as well as 33 volumes of the Indian Affairs Manual. The frustration of this jungle of rules and writ is magnified because, despite a federal law that requires that Indians be provided with legal representation, very few lawyers are in fact provided. Further, no tribe can hire a lawyer without federal approval, and at times lawyers representing Indians have even been barred from reservations.

The Land Grabbers. Nowhere is the bureau's authority better dramatized than in its power over Indian trust property. Despite the fact that Indian land is theoretically as private as that of any other U.S. citizen, it is—the BIA that controls its use, sale, exchange and other transactions.

A given Indian adult may be per-

what must be done will, unfortunately, necessitate taking Indian land. When a choice must be made as to whose private property will be taken for public purpose, an Indian's or a non-Indian's, the Indian is invariably the loser.

Such was the case with the Indians at Fort Berthold, N.D., who fought to keep the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers from building Garrison Dam and flooding one fourth of their reservation—154,000 acres of fertile bottomlands. Experts with the Bureau of Reclamation had drawn up an alternate plan that was equally feasible and inundated less valuable land. The Army and the Interior Department led the Indians to believe this alternative would be accepted. It wasn't. The Indians then scraped together money, hired their own experts and devised a third

Static survival—Doctor sees disease in attempts to alter Indian culture

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February 22, 1970
By LEWIS H. DIUGUID
Times-Post News Service
(Washington Post)

CHIMALTENANGO, Guatemala—Here in the highlands, where the household language is Cakchikel, a general practitioner from Kansas is caught up in the transition of the Indians to a modern society.

Dr. Carroll Behrhorst came 10 years ago intent on giving medical care to the Indians. He stayed to treat their more fundamental problems of nutrition and agriculture. But in the cultural exchange between Behrhorst and the Cakchikels, he seems to have changed more than they.

FROM HIS concern with the infectious onslaughts of measles and whooping cough, Behrhorst has moved on to what he sees as the pathological consequences of attempting to alter a culture. Asked to sum up his decade of work here, he said:

"With the Indians, there have been very few changes. The Indians have not changed for centuries." Then he added a point open to wide dispute: "That's why they have survived."

The successful community development man, he has said, "can have himself and his program accepted and understood, and yet not tarnish too much the cultural status of those he wishes to serve."

"Every day a hundred times, as I see the great pride and dignity of the local Indians, I think how these traits must be preserved, absolutely." Yet, he has said: "North American groups, here in Guatemala... demand and impose strict patterns of behavior on those they are supposed to be serving."

TO MEET the Indians on their own terms, Behrhorst runs a clinic-hospital with a dirt-floor approach to medicine that is the despair of conventional missionary doctors. There is also some feeling that his efforts have undercut the government's efforts.

But he has received aid from such diverse groups as, initially, the Lutheran church and later the United States Agency for International Development, Columbia University's medical school, the

Guatemalan government, and the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency. There is even a Behrhorst Clinic Foundation, Inc.

Behrhorst's marriage did not survive in the highlands, and some of his institutional backers are uneasy about his living with an Indian woman. Behrhorst, 47, came to Guatemala from Winfield, Kansas, as a Lutheran missionary doctor. He learned Spanish and earned his license at a hospital in Guatemala City. He was shocked to learn that a nearby area was almost totally lacking in medical care.

Chimaltenango is only 30 miles west of the capital on the Pan American Highway, but it is the gateway to a mountain zone where perhaps 200,000 Cakchikels and most of the country's other Indians live. Of Guatemala's 5,200,000 people, 60 per cent are Indian. But many have left the highlands to live in the cities, renounce the costumes and customs of centuries, learn Spanish and become Ladinos.

AT THE CONVERTED adobe house that comprises the clinic and the hospital he founded, Behrhorst distinguishes neatly between Latinized Indians and the Cakchikels:

"Ladinos will come to the clinic, because they like the care. But they don't like the hospital. They think it is dirty. The Indians like it because the family can stay with the patient."

"I had a woman tell me the other day: 'Better to go home and die than to go to the government hospital,' when I told her she needed a gall bladder operation."

"They have wonderful buildings, but they don't have many patients. When a patient comes they take his clothes off and scrub him and bring food on a tray. The family has to go home."

"Here we sleep two or three or four in the same bed, with maybe a chicken tied up to the post. It's dirty sometimes, congested. But that's the Indian culture."

"Kindness is much more important than cleanliness."

Behrhorst realized at the outset that to treat disease alone was insufficient. Most patients were infected with maladies that, in the United States, are easily controlled, but among the Indians, who subsist with very little protein, measles or pneumonia cause widespread deaths.

HE INITIATED two programs: Indian "curers" were trained to administer medicine or injections in the villages, following rules inculcated by the doctor. Fifty-six curers from 46 villages are now working in an attempt to fill an otherwise hopeless vacuum of medical care.

A study by a University of Kentucky specialist in community medicine found the unorthodox practitioners to be highly competent in carrying out their instructions. With this expanded coverage, the clinic treats well over 30,000 patients annually.

His second project is an agricultural extension, aimed to introduce fertilizer and insecticides to the marginal and weary Indian farmlands. This effort has been less successful. Follow-up studies find few farmers using fertilizer.

The same University of Kentucky expert found that the Indians have lived so long at the edge of starvation that they were unwilling to "risk" introducing a new element that might push them below the margin.

Behrhorst is persisting in these programs, but increasingly he confronts the psychological problems of the Indian in charge:

"They just can't make the transition. Most of the problems are

among 'Protestants.' If you see a patient reading the Bible, look out. He's probably psychosomatic."

"THE MAJORITY of the people we see with problems are people in transition. Why? Did they want to change? Did they make the change and then get sick? Or was it the desire for change that made them sick?"

"If the Indian population is to be integrated, we have to have the answers or we may have a nation of psychopaths."

Behrhorst's bonds to the Indians were obvious as he made his hospital rounds. He knew the 60 patients—in 50 beds—by their affliction if not their name. The attendant children moved as eagerly toward him as they shied away from a stranger.

The doctor speaks Spanish fluently, but knows only a few words of Cakchikel, which he says is a most difficult language. About half of the patients can rely to questions in reasonable Spanish, but he said that in three-fourths of the families the language of the home is Cakchikel.

Nurses who retain their native dress and customs provide a bridge of language and inspire confidence in the Indians. Whatever their illness, the patients expect and receive injections. When none other is needed, the medicine is Vitamin B. Similarly, stethoscope probes are required.

THOUGH CHARGES for care are geared to ability to pay, there is always a charge. Again, it is expected. Indians will walk or pay bus fare from far afield to see Behrhorst. He attributes this in part to his being a gringo. North Americans may have problems elsewhere, but they are popular in the highlands.

The hospital apparently turns a modest profit. With this plus institutional aid—including a \$5,000 grant from AID after visiting Senator Fred R. Harris, Democrat of Oklahoma, recommended it—Behrhorst is building a \$50,000 hospital.

United States Ambassador Nathaniel Davis drove out recently with \$1,500 worth of medicine that he had solicited from American drug firms in Guatemala City.

Behrhorst is confident that the Indians will accept the new building. It conforms to traditional design—a n d has no modern trimming whatsoever.

—Protestant missions: "I've known church organizations that told their doctors: 'See patients until 2 in the afternoon, then after that, evangelize.'"

Behrhorst broke early with the Lutheran mission. Many Protestant groups feel he fails to represent the best medical practice that the

United States could offer. Protestant missionaries, though ubiquitous, have made only a limited impression on Guatemala. It remains largely, if nominally, Catholic even in the Indian areas.

Protestant enclaves tend to form a geographic pattern, because 50 years ago five sects divided up the land in a sort of evangelical cartel.

Because of Behrhorst's earthy approach to doctoring, he is coming to be known as the Albert Schweitzer of Guatemala. He rejects the comparison on two counts:

"Schweitzer never got beyond his medicine to treat the basic needs of the Africans, and furthermore he looked upon them as children."

To check on the popularity of Behrhorst, I drove 40 miles south from Chimaltenango down the only, barely passable road that connects the area with the coastal lowlands. Cakchikels live there in the foothills, too, along with many Ladinos.

In Santa Lucia, Cotzumalguapa is a Ladino acquaintance with a sense of peasant wisdom and hence a skepticism of outside efforts to better the Cakchikels—a goal he personally holds.

"Behrhorst came to talk to villagers near here," he said. "They found him to be an honest man and sincere."

In Guatemala, with a history of failed reforms and lost faith, that was affirmation, indeed.



Guatemalan nurse-translator speaks to a patient (in doorway) with two childr

Give
the Earth
Back
to Man



Continuing U.S. Grab of Indians' Water Charged

47

JANUARY 18, 1970

THE NEW YORK TIMES

By NEIL SHEEHAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17—An Interior Department expert on Indian water resources has accused his department and the Justice Department of depriving Indians of the water rights the departments are pledged to protect.

William H. Veeder, the water resources specialist of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, charged that the historic encroachment of the white man on the Indian's water resources was continuing because of "outrageous" conflicts of interest within the two departments.

Mr. Veeder made the accusations in a laboriously documented report included in a 70-volume series on the economic plight of the American Indian. The series was published last year by the Senate-Subcommittee on Economic Development in Government, headed by Senator William Proxmire, Democrat of Wisconsin.

In effect, Mr. Veeder wrote, the Government has stolen the water rights from the Indians, causing "irreparable damage" to the American Indians in the western part of the United States "by severely hampering economic development of the reservations."

Water resources are a prerequisite for economic development of the majority of the Indian reservations because they are situated in the arid and semi-arid regions of the West and Southwest.

Two Responsibilities

The basic conflict, Mr. Veeder explained, arises from the fact that, while the Interior and Justice Departments are required by law to safeguard Indian property rights in land and water, they are also responsible for administering the nation's public lands and streams for the benefit of the white majority.

Although Indian interests are supposed to be treated as separate and private property, they are in practice handled as public land and water resources, he said.

Mr. Veeder recommended the establishment by Congress of an independent agency, divorced from the Interior and Justice Departments, to protect and safeguard Indian land and water rights in order to rectify what he called "the unconscionable course of conduct" by the Federal Government toward the Indians.

Unless an independent agency is created, he warned, "economic development of the American Indian reservations in the western part of the United States will continue to be prevented or severely curtailed."

As an example of the present problem, Mr. Veeder wrote, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, charged with protecting the Indians, is outweighed in the bureaucratic infighting by other Interior agencies, such as the Bureau of Reclamation, whose objective is to expropriate Indian water resources for the white man's use. The Bureau of Reclamation is responsible for irrigation and hydroelectric development.

These agencies, oriented to the white man, are invariably backed by "powerful political forces"—the Congressmen and Governors of the Western states and the lobbyists for ranching and hydroelectric interests, Mr. Veeder continued.

Foremost Expert

Mr. Veeder is considered probably the foremost expert within the Government on the complex subject of the Indians' rights to use the waters of rivers, streams and lakes that lie within or that directly border on their reservations. His agency, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, is an arm of the Interior Department.

Speaking of the conflict within the Interior Department, Mr. Veeder wrote:

"Practical politics—the lifeblood of the Bureau of Reclamation—are daily confronted with good conscience and the need to fulfill the trust and

responsibility to the Indians. Erosion of Indian title to rights to the use of water is the consequence."

Before joining the Bureau on Indian Affairs in 1965, Mr. Veeder said in a telephone interview, he worked for 20 years in the Department of Justice as an attorney dealing mainly with Indian land and water rights.

He said that a situation identical to that in the Interior Department existed in the Justice Department, where, he said, attorneys who supposedly take court action to protect Indian rights to land and water are overwhelmed by others whose objective is to take these away for white interests.

The over-all result, he wrote, is that, despite pious statements to the contrary, the main thrust of Federal policy remains, as it has been historically, the gradual and steady expropriation of Indian land and water resources for the use of the white man.

The amount of land held by Indian reservations shrunk from roughly 130 million acres in 1890 to 50 million acres as of 1968.

Subcommittee sources said the Bureau of Indian Affairs had attempted to persuade the subcommittee not to publish Mr. Veeder's paper, but to publish instead a much less outspoken report on Indian water rights submitted by Robert L. Bennett, the former commissioner of the bureau.

Bureau officials said Mr. Bennett's paper represented the official position of the bureau, while Mr. Veeder's views were private.

Spokesmen for the Interior and Justice Departments said Mr. Veeder's argument had not yet been studied and that they had no comment at this time.

Mr. Bennett, who now heads the new Indian law center at the University of New Mexico, in Albuquerque, noted that a department as a whole, rather than a single official, determines Government policy. "If Mr. Veeder feels the way he

does he should get out of Government and become a lawyer for the Indians," he said.

Mr. Veeder said he had been asked by the commissioner's office to rewrite his report but had refused to do so.

"It would have been a bizarre thing for me to go and say I didn't mean what I wrote," he said.

Threats to Pyramid Lake

Carson City, Nev.

Pyramid Lake, for generations a cool, washed campsite of the Paiute Indians, is destined to become a "dead sea" unless the Federal Government changes its "anti-Indian" policies, a congressional researcher said here yesterday.

Some 500 Paiutes eke out a grim existence around the dwindling shores of the lake by selling fishing and boating permits.

But the Newlands Project near Fallon, Nev., now diverts some 406,000 acre feet of water from the Truckee River, the only tributary feeding the 108,000 acre lake—some 30 miles northeast of Reno.

William H. Veeder, a consultant to the House subcommittee on economy in Government, said the Stampede Dam will also impede the flow of water through the lake and hasten the salinity of the water, "leaving it a dead sea."

"The history of Pyramid Lake," Veeder complained, "is a reflection of the callous disregard of Indians' property, their rights and interests."

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The only Indian America ever cared about.

Kennedy suggests Indians break with Interior Dept.

1/27/70

WASHINGTON (AP)

Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., says it's time for the nation's Indians to determine whether they need their own lawyers to protect their rights. They might also consider breaking away from Interior Department control, he suggested.

"Without vigilant protection of your rights," he said Monday night in a speech to the executive council of the National Congress of American Indians, "you will find yourselves head-in fact, if not in law—to

ward termination of your very existence.

"And protection of your rights requires knowledge of what you own and the extent of your rights in your property."

Kennedy is chairman of an Indian education subcommittee of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

The senator said it has been recognized that there can be no permanent security for Indian communities without conservation, restoration and improvement of natural resources. He urged the Indians to seek a full

inventory of their natural resources and determine their rights in them.

Kennedy said the federal government, "with trust responsibilities to your tribes extending to protection of your resources, should be the first to speak up for your rights."

"Yet, just last month, the Rincon band of Mission Indians in Southern California was told by the Justice Department that—despite a mandatory statute and despite well-established trust

obligations—the government will not assist the tribe in litigation efforts to preserve its life blood: water from the San Luis Rey River."

THE senator said if the Indians feel they must have their own lawyers in this battle, "and not the same Justice Department lawyers who resist your claims cases or Interior solicitors who are answerable to reclamation or land management or outdoor recreation interests, then you must work together to give the Bureau of Indian Affairs its own legal staff."

"Perhaps the conflicts are so irreconcilable that federal Indian responsibility in their entirety should be lodged outside the Interior Department. You, and only you, should make this ultimate determination."

"If lawyers outside government must carry forth your cause, then their contracts should be approved without delay. The prospect of a lawsuit against the bureau should be no grounds for even questioning an attorney contract."

"Perhaps the entire BIA attorney-contract approval system should be revamped—or done away with. Again, this should be your decision."

Kennedy also said if the federal government "is to construct and deliver a meaningful policy with native Americans, then we can no longer be content with the double standard which permits us to spend billions in support of economic development overseas and at the same time pay only lip service to the needs of the original Americans."

THE WOONSOCKET CALL, Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Tribal Land Indian BIA Primary Concern

BILLINGS, Mont. AP — Commissioner of Indian Affairs Louis R. Bruce, under attack by militant urban-dwelling Indians in several cities, says the Bureau of Indian Affairs is concerned primarily with Indians living on tribal lands.

The bureau, he said Tuesday, is neither set up nor financed to assume responsibility for off-reservation Indians.

Bruce made his comments during an interview following a meeting of the Montana Tribal Policy Board.

The commissioner said the National Council on Indian Opportunity, headed by Vice President Spiro Agnew is oriented to deal with Indians who do not live on reservation.

His statements came after demonstrations Monday in Chicago and other cities against the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The protesters demanded equal treatment for Indians living on reservations and those

living in large cities, better housing for urban Indians, and hiring of Indians to fill all BIA positions. They also asked for Bruce's dismissal.

Bruce said the bureau plans to hire more Indians for positions of authority. He said 60 per cent of the agency's 14,000 employees are Indians, but said most of them are in low-pay positions.

The commissioner said the bureau is not opposed to Indian attempts to take over Alcatraz Island, Ft. Lawton or Ellis Island. He said, however, he was concerned about the cost of developing federal property that might be taken over by militant Indians.

"If Indians want to move to these places, it's up to them," he said.

During the Montana Tribal Policy Board meeting earlier in the day, Bruce said Indians should "make their needs known and then go after them."

Bruce said the burden of the

proving the Indians' condition lies with Indians. Since he was appointed in September Bruce said he has taken steps to streamline the bureau's function so that it can better serve Indian interests.

"I like to think of the BIA as a service organization," he said.

Wampum wanted

OKLAHOMA CITY — (AP) — A Kiowa Indian filed suit yesterday against the state of Oklahoma for \$1,287,467,000 plus six per cent interest from 1902. A. A. Hopkins-Dukes, acting for the Tribal Indian Land Rights Association, said that an 1868 treaty promising land to members of the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache tribes was not carried out and that more than 3,000,000 acres of reserve land were taken from them.



Robert Greene

GRAY

The color of the sky on
A rainy day.
Gray, a very unhappy feeling.
Gray, a tiny little donkey.
Gray hair of my grandfather.
Gray straightness of a sidewalk.
Gray, the color of smoke.
Gray, the misty fog of a marshland.

Ernest Haven

THE SPINNING WIND

Just as it started
the grasses begin to move
and I could hear it
as the trees waved back
and forth.

Just as it started,
I could see the dark
color of it far beyond
the blue.

It moved fast picking up
up leaves, dusty flowers
and throwing them out
in any direction.

As time passes, it calms down
and the trees and grass
settle down to silence.

Augustine Leonard

LILLIAN C.

I remember those days
As sad for we were poor;
Yet rich, for we had love.
My dad died when I was small.
I never knew what fatherly love was.
Dad was a hard-working man.
That's all I know from Mom.
When I was six, Mom sent me
Off to school and education.
I grew up and started working
For the Smiths.
One day I was washing windows,
Fighting the dirt of the city.
When I slipped off the ladder
And unconsciously touched
The ground.
I must have been hurt bad,
I don't know.

Lillian Clauschee



Robert Lee

HAPPINESS IS

Happiness is a cozy sunrise in
the morning.
Happiness is breathing the fresh
morning air.
Happiness is being welcomed at
a stranger's home.
Happiness is seeing an old
friend again.
Happiness is shaking a friend's
hand and feeling the
tears running down your
cheeks in gladness.
This is happiness.

Edward Begay

CLASS HOUR

Mean teacher standing
Not even a sound being made
Students, tired of sitting,
Looking at the lazy clock,
Wish the period would end now.

Tom Yellowman

AUNT ANNIE

Don't leave the old house.
We want you around here with
Happiness and pride.
Dear old family cries in the
House when she passed away.

Archie Washburn

HOME

Home is where the heart is
Where we were born and grew up.
A nice warm place.
We go far away from it.
We never leave it for sure.

Lee Bahe

Old reservation.
Most beautiful land and
Red rocks standing tall.
Hiding small animals.
Holding up brown eagle's nest.

Lorraine Cody

The pine trees at home
Though aged, it still stands so proud.
Reaching, still growing.
This tree resembles my life.
Hopefully, to live longer.

Edith Dixon

House.
Round, square.
With happy folk inside.
Sharing their love with each other.
House.

Bessie Yazzie

Dark brown Navajo.
Worker of turquoise, silver.
Herds flocks of sheep.

Donald Badoni

The sheep wandering
About looking for grasses.
wanders all day long.
Stops long enough to chew on dry
Grasses. Goes wandering again.

Terrence Begay



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LONELINESS

Loneliness is being alone,
Thinking of sad things you did.
Maybe you upset someone you love.
Maybe you were left behind.
Loneliness is being left alone in
A place you've never been before.
Living with people you've never
Met, sent to a new, unknown school.
Loneliness is getting into trouble
Where everyone is against you.
Loneliness is being away from the
Love of your mother, father, sister
Brother.
Loneliness is being mad with
Yourself.

Ray Blackwater

Looking sad and lost
My mother stands at the door
While I am leaving.

Lee Bahe

HOME COMING

With tears in their eyes,
And big smiles on their faces,
Happy are my parents.

Lorraine Cody

PLACE IN THE SUN

It has been a long life
For me.
Life seems to be short but
One must go.
This is good so that others
May be born.
We give to them a world we
Have improved.
We give to them enjoyment of
Things created for us.
I had made plans but what good
Are they now?
Now I must go to find my place
In the sun.
Life has been great.
Now I am dying; just someone to
Remember.

George Werito

My dear grandmother
I can hear her axe talking
In the dawn morning.

Archie Washburne

THIN POEM

Skinny
me.
So
Thin.
Food,
Food,
I cry
dilly.
My
ribs
like
a
harp.
My
knees
like
a
cup.
The
wind
socked
me
it
blew
me
back
and
forth.
Help!

Betty Chase

Cowboys and Indians.
Bang, bang the cowboy's dead!
Scalp them palefaces.
Hit their hides,
And run them out!
Yeh! the Indians won!

Elva Blackhat

LONG WALK

Heard my people's tale.
How they were chased by the whites.
Days with hunger and thirst.
Spent watching when dark night fall
Through prairie and through desert.

Dennis Henry

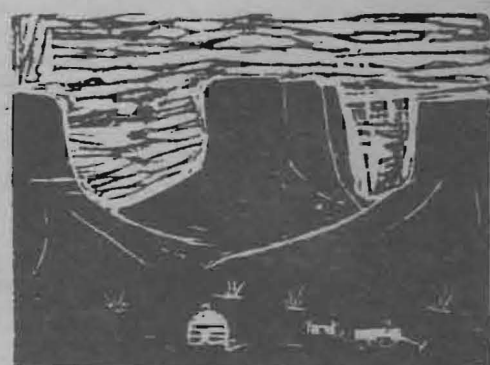
LISTEN

In the old dead tree
I hear young woodpeckers leap,
While mother returns.

Archie Washburn

My horse galloping.
The sound of thunder hoof
Coming towards home.

Alice Evans



MARLETTA THOMPSON